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MACLEAN'S

The Top 5 Our Parliament Hill reporter, Kady D. Malley, counts down the hottest topics in Ottawa each morning and explains why you should care about them www.macleans.ca/top5

The Briefing Our morning digest gives you a rundown of what's making news across the country www.macleans.ca/briefing

Savage Washington Lizzo Ch. Savage gives the Canadian perspective live from D.C. www.macleans.ca/washington

Maclean's 50 Canada's leading voices comment on the major stories as we cover them www.macleans.ca/macleans50



KELLOGG'S ALL-BRAN HONEY NUT FLAVOUR CEREAL. IT'S TEMPTING

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'Bill Gates may have billions, but he has likely created many more billions in wealth for his customers'

THE PRINCESS DIARIES

WIKEN DIANA, Princess of Wales, died in 1997. I was fairly afraid of how people reacted and I cringed when I heard the word "Surrey" bandied around. ("The wedding of Diana," Society, June 16.) I liked Diana from the moment I first saw her on television just before her marriage to Prince Charles. Ten years after her death, I still like her. I will always remember June 1985 when she and Prince Charles came to my hometown of Chatham-Kent for a royal tour. There I stood in a large crowd waiting for autographs for the already well-known princesses decked out in a phoned but to make her way toward me. The thrill of shaking her hand and looking into those baby blues was unforgettable. It wasn't that she did that much, but she was special and she made people happy. *Wendy MacLeod, Collingwood, Ont.*

Diana may well have been pitifully mis-educate, but she was allowed enough to manipulate the royal family, the press, her children, her lovers and the general public into believing that she was a caring and compassionate individual. If public opinion has turned against her in the past 10 years, this is the first I've heard of it. And if she was insecure, stressed and foolish, then she shared those personal struggles with most of us to some degree. *Jeanne Kearney, Toronto*

I don't think I have ever met anybody who did not think she was a conspiracy involved in Diana's death, and that suspicion will live and grow with the years. *Jim Battershill, North Mecklenburg*

Your article wasn't a celebration of Diana's life—it was a slam. Diana was a given in the royal family's succession game. You failed to put the blame for her troubled marriage where it clearly belongs, on Prince Charles. Diana found out right before her public wedding that her husband was in love with someone else. She must have had to put on a stiff upper lip that day, and every other day thereafter that miserable union that ultimately cost her her life. *Deborah Muehle, Toronto*

As a physician who has, over the past 30 some years, seen many patients with serious injuries from motor vehicle accidents, I have to

wonder why Maclean's avoided one obvious issue. Diana might have survived that accident had she chosen to wear her seat belt. *De Ann Derby, Chatham*

WRITER DONALD MILES' view on the royal family and their senior daughter-in-law is not the most. The case he was writing is not a matter of two "poor women," as well as a high-school social studies teacher. MacLeod is a part of my home reading and a valued reference site in the classroom. I realize that the colloquial in slipping into casual times makes these days, but I like to think



that some sources of information can be relied on to maintain a higher standard. *Elizabeth Burrows, Glen's Head, Ont.*

GIVE ME MONEY

Many people don't seem to believe that individuals earning high incomes actually help the public treasury. ("Does 'Have the wealth,' that one, June 16.) Let's remember that in value-for-exchange, each party participates only if it values what it gets more than what it gives. A lot of basic research shows that an individual has given a commensurate amount of wealth to labour, management, advice, or other non-material forms of value. Put another way, anybody with a net worth above zero is net producer of goods and services, rather than a net consumer. Though it sounds paradoxical, the more money you have, the more value you have given away. Bill Gates may be bilionaire, but he has likely created many more

bilionaire wealth for his customers. Canada's wealthy are its entrepreneurs, investors and managers—people who create jobs and improve our quality of life. Instead, we must consider very carefully any new "look the rich" policy. *Ray Martin, Acuteon Ont.*

I am a certified financial planner and I think your article on the rich makes the point. In relative terms, the rich can pay an astronomical rate of tax and that was not mentioned in your article. Gates in point, a salaried Ontario employee with no dependents earning \$30,000 would pay about \$4,400 (15 per cent) in taxes. Earning in a fully employee-owned firm might be \$3,500, but an individual receiving \$30,000 in dividends (requiring about \$1 million in capital) from Canadian public corporations would pay about \$590 (1.5 per cent) in taxes because of the tax rules governing such dividends. The same employee earning \$60,000 would pay tax of about \$13,300 (22 per cent) while the individual receiving \$60,000 in dividends (requiring about \$1 million in capital) would pay tax of only \$4,100 (seven per cent), even though corporations are taxed on dividends before distributions. *Richard Baughman, Toronto*

'BETTER' HEALTH CARE

Maclean's may not really be an advocate of all things capitalist, but I question the basis of your characterization of Canadian private medical services as better. ("The complete user's guide to better medical care," Health, June 17.) The inference is that private is better than public. What are your criteria? It will only be better for a doctor seeking to make a profitable business or a medical insurance company seeking to control its payments. But will it be better for all the people of Canada? Not, private clinics will likely provide faster access to a doctor, but not doctors seeking to create a profitable business make better medical decisions than those working in a public hospital. *Ray Gault, Victoria*

In the other medical care article about audiologists ("Tory hidden hearing aids"), you quoted me as saying, "There aren't actually a lot of good public sector jobs available." That is certainly the trend for adult hearing-aid dispensing services. Services for children

are quite different. The service delivery model for audiology differs by province, but in British Columbia, hearing and dispensing for children is performed by public health audiologists as part of the government's Early Hearing Program. These services are publicly funded and provide diagnosis and hearing devices to young children with hearing loss. B.C.'s hearing aid plan provides, at no cost to the families, up to two hearing aids per child up to age 15. In Ontario, audiological services are covered for infants and children up to entrance into Grade 1 through the Ontario Infant Hearing Program. Hearing aids are also covered by the Audiology Services Program. In addition, with the expansion in public health audiology in B.C., there are many good jobs available. In fact, there is a shortage of audiologists to fill them. *Lorraine Jernstedt, School of Audiology and Speech Sciences, University of British Columbia, Vancouver*

Your article and private health directory were misused, and you listed no resources for people who are struggling with mental illness. Since it seems that we will treat body and mind as separate entities, I challenge you to publish an article that focuses on the most current and even integrative treatments for these diseases. *Wayne Kothko, Oakville, Ont.*

GIRLS GONE WILD

Thank you for setting the record straight about the media case over "paranormal sightings" like Peter Hulton (and Lindsay Lohan and Lindsay Spitzer, for that matter) and the vibrant that driven on dancing girls who go wild. ("Unfortunately, Paris is not burning,"

Paris, June 4.) Indeed, "Female harassment is the staple of rape, molestation and pornography, and the American sex-war-published periodicals *Bitch* and *Witch* do even go so far as to claim that 'When does one go wild get clattered?' I also loved the article in *Maclean's* about Sony magazine by Laurie Goodwin. ("Review of the night-producers," *Media*) I'll be fighting with my dad for *Maclean's* from now on. *Enka Marjan, Montreal*

THE ANTI-CHEATING WAR

The *Maclean's* High School students who object to *Maclean's* reaction to their essay argue that John Breen is profiting from their work. ("How not to catch a thief," *Education*, June 4.) Breen, his former teaching assistant, seems to use, quite honestly by providing an important service by advising the students' essays. He is not looking the essays for research so that he may plagiarize and publish. In *Maclean's*, I don't see a mention of the fact that the essays go to Ontario to be re-evaluated, copied, and then sent out to anyone anywhere who wants to read them. The writer retains the copyright on his material, but has no control of its use, and there are no royalties

These students have no use for the essays after grading; they certainly can't make any money from them. To object to their use to combat plagiarism is selfish and, frankly, makes them appear rather suspect. Having one's high school essay on a database being prevented by a computer is not being debased by a cheat. *Eric & Griffin Davidson, Ont.*

SACRIFICES OF THE PAST

Ken MacQueen Q & A with John Breen. Canada's only surviving veteran of the First World War, who played a major role in the war, June 11. Breen's story tells us about the war, but it tells us about the culture of the day. I would love to read more from him. My grandfather was a veteran of the First World War, and as a therapy, he married a woman and she had a husband who was a promise that it would never be his other person. It took him years to regain his composure and he eventually settled as a farmer in Niagara Falls, Ont. Although that was well in the past, I will forever be intrigued and grateful for the sacrifice those people made for me. *Chuck Ryan, Calgary*

What's red, white and naturally, deliciously light?

IN PASSING

Barry Wilton, B.C. diplomat. He served 20 terms in United Nations secretary-general during the 1970s. In 1986 he became Ontario's premier, but quit three months later over his involvement with Nazi money launderers who have committed atrocities during the Second World War. Wilton died of a heart attack.

Baron Guy de Rothschild, 94. He led Paris when his family's banking empire was confiscated by the Nazis. After serving in the French resistance during the Second World War, he rebuilt the bank virtually from scratch. The baron was equally well known for his Chateau Laforce Rothschild winery as well as his thoughtful memoirs.



A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF POPE BENEDICT XVI

It's not exactly a book war, but with his 374-page volume *Jenni of Nazareth* on the shelves, the Pope has been getting a bit of ink. On Friday, he ordained a pair of Anglican bishops. On Sept. 4, with positive reviews of his book flowing in, he joined Chrysostomos II, the head of the Egyptian Orthodox Church, in a pledge to work for peace in the Middle East. Both men said they feared "diabolical consequences" would ensue from the conflicts in Lebanon and Gaza.

Good news

Guidance counsel

In the corporate world, buyers, sellers and workers generally can't agree on the time of day, so a group of prominent CEOs, public funds and union leaders made history of a sort the week when they collectively called for an end to quarterly "guidance." This practice, in which CEOs at various times each month, by e-mail or in person, tell investors what they expect to make in coming months, is meant to boost market volatility and keep investors accountable. In fact, it encourages shady accounting gimmicks and fuels the market's myopic obsession with short-term performance. Several major companies have already stopped making projections, and the sooner the rest follow suit, the sooner we'll have kicked one of the business world's unwholesome habits.

Cause for care

Finally, a unified front in Canada against perpetrators of sexual abuse, taxpayer-funded daycare. Last week, the National Family Childcare Association, a group of home parents and child-based firms with the Canadian Child Care Management Association, which represents privately run daycares, to lobby for support for parental choice, vouchers for daycares and income-eligible tax. Cooperation between these unlikely bedfellows raises hope for a proper debate on a vital issue. "The public discourse is dominated by neoliberals and left-of-center politicians—both monopolized the national conversation on child care, demanding that we pour resources into an expensive, unworkable system. Now, the fiscal logic of families winning proper standards for informal private care, or better support for day-care centers, has a voice."

Bad news

Money ill spent

It was a relief to see Sweden slap limits on an online shopping outfit—appropriately named *Buyas*—that allowed anyone to pay into personal financial goals gathered by an adhesion. We're all for transparency, but the tool warning Sweden have stretched into some to follow individual income and debt information was already available in paper form. Web-based search technology advertising by quantum leaps, it's become clear that, far

from having exposed poor taste to ridicule by their peers, and raised questions about exactly what's getting purchased, no one expects to live longer. But what we do need is a living hell?

Paper tigers

If there was any doubt the athletic ideal has been corrupted by greed, publicity and bloated salaries, you can call an end to the debate. From FIFA, the Swiss-based governing body of international soccer, came the news that matches (no longer to be played at elevations above 1,000m). It seems the men's governors have decided that it's just too taxing for players to compete in mountainous, soccer-suit countries such as Peru and Bolivia. Then the Oakland Raiders football franchise short a voluntary training camp after the players' union claimed the workout violated the league's collective bargaining agreement because they were too tough. And you thought the point of pro sports was to push one's physical limits.

Scrub brush

The discovery in the U.S. and Canada of coumestrol for Calgary taxpayers—caused by a poison oil chemical and apparently originating in South Africa—might help the fortunes of another African contribution to dental care. Reuters reported that week that helps, cut from bushes and used to clean the teeth, are catching on with upscale health food stores in North America. Some dentists even believe they are as effective as brushes. Still, when we live in a world of toothpaste, and where toothbrushes are growing on sticks no closer than 100 miles, we're just going very wrong with our export controls. ■

FACE OF THE WEEK



GRINER GILLY Aeri Lindgren's laugh-filled moment cracked after she won *Peewee's* Canadian Act of the Month Video Award.

from forcing Big Brothers, even if folks should worry about a vast array of Little Brothers mind their business.

The high road

China's announcement that it plans to build a highway through Tibet to the foot of Mount Everest will no doubt raise a lament for the destruction and commodification of one of the world's special places. We say why not paving the road to Everest will surely affirm what the world knows and won't admit about this mountain: it has been the earth's highest corner trip.

disasters starting apart an already miserable people. Isolating them is one thing, depriving those left under its rule is also a thing and, arguably, cruel.

Please sir...

Play the children. Homework loads have grown so heavy that Toronto's public school board is forced to limit the amount of free-of-charge study time teachers can demand from children. Meow come, a school board in Chilo Vista, Calif., began punishing parents who did not pay their first lunch bill by giving their children plain cheese sandwiches.

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When premiers strive for downward mobility



ANDREW POTTER

What do Rodney MacDonald and Danny Williams have in common with members of low-income families in northern India? Probably not much, aside from a serious case of downward mobility.

Last week, a group of low caste farmers, the Gajjars, went on a rampage in northern India. They blocked roads, set fire to police stations and pitched battles with members of rival castes, all for a single, over riding goal: to be ranked even lower than they are now.

To combat the pernicious effects of caste-based discrimination, the Indian government has established quotas for civil service jobs and university spots. The Gajjars might fit in some of these affirmative schemes, but they want more, or, we should say, less. The Gajjars are demanding that the government actually treat some members of the even lower Dalit, or "untouchable," class. That way, the Gajjars (who are traditionally farmers) will be eligible for the government jobs that have been made aside for Dalits. In an appalling last March, they temporarily suspended parts of the quotas and, India's Supreme Court wrote, "Nowhere else would such cases go up to be decided in a backward... nowhere else would there be a consequence to become backward."

India's capitalism has obviously never soiled and Canada. We have our own caste system here, with the economy divided into a few "have" provinces, and a large number of "have not" provinces. The federal government runs an equalization program, an unprecedented transfer of wealth from the federal treasury to the have not provinces that amounts to a form of affirmative action for those provinces that fall short of a minimum threshold of revenue.

Lately, some of the have not provinces have taken to throwing revenue fire over our attempts by the federal Conservatives to bring some sort of order and rationality to the equaliza-

tion formula, which was chosen cooperatively by the previous hand writer to the provinces. Paul Martin, Peter Hain, Danny Williams and Bradley MacDonald was upset with a clause in the new equalization formula that requires a cap to ensure that payments do not raise a province's total per capita fiscal capacity above that of any non-receiving province. With an equality that would nearly suppress the Gajjars, they are insisting on their right to self-regulation—that is, to be considered have not provinces—even if that actual fiscal status that says otherwise. Why care about low status when there's free money to be had?

Of course, the premiers have a different interpretation of the situation. As they see it, the real principle that is at stake is the loss not associated with the keeping of one's



'Nowhere else is there a competition to be backward,' said India's courts. Oh really?

premises. They argue that while in opposition, Stephen Harper promised a cap-free equalization program, a pledge he reneged upon in the 2007 federal budget.

Either way, it's a pretty disgusting lot of backward, made all the more unpleasant by the fact that equalization is one of those federal programs that is supposed to help build the country together. As set out in the Constitution, the goal of equalization is to "ensure that provincial governments have sufficient revenues to provide reasonably comparable levels of public services at reasonably comparable levels of taxation." That's not exactly "We the People" material, but it speaks to a substantial: that one of the functions of the federal government is to help put out social justice after regional inequalities within Confederation.

In many of the "open letters" to federal jobs that he wrote while under government attack, Stephen Harper characterized equalization as one of the closest expressions of Canada's national solidarity. As he wrote in Lucien Bouchard, it's Quebec even char-

acter of have-not status, "I know that we would give with the same generosity that Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia have been showing for so many years. Because that is what Canadian solidarity is all about."

That sounds sweet, but it actually exemplifies an attitude toward equalization that is becoming dangerously common in Canada, which is that economic interpretation and charity. More often than not, charity breeds a small resentment, while hiding the personal effect of giving the moral upper hand to the recipient. That is because the Christian idea behind charity—their belief in the grace of God goes to heaven, essentially, that the dispirited is wealth between the giver and the recipient is largely a matter of choice or convenience. The giver gives because he feels deep down that he doesn't deserve his wealth, while the recipient confirms by accepting it and then discrediting even more.

When the recent Ontario receives equalization is not the incapacity of trying to achieve national solidarity through a cash transfer to the provinces. It leads to a completely antithetical to the best of times, in the worst of times, can lead to demands for outright secession. It is probably no coincidence that the one major federation

with no federal equalization program, the United States, is also the most stable and least fractious. What our side should really be trying to equalize is individual incomes, not provincial revenues. That is, if Ontario is going to transfer cash at all, it will have to follow income individuals, not poor provinces.

Trying to buy loyalty is like trying to buy love: these things can only be rented, and even then you end up with their unanticipated casualties, which are both governments in a steady sort of misadventure client relationship. That's why the point is not to blame the provinces that are insisting on their right to continue to collect equalization; Ontario has never really hid the fact that it considers the Atlantic provinces to be fiscal client states whose votes are there to be bought and not earned.

The truth is, equalization hasn't given us national solidarity. Instead, it has rented us into a nation of minorities and jobs, with all the successful indifference that entails. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Potter visit his blog at www.mackenzie.ca/andrewpotter/

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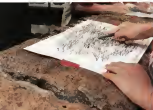




IT'S SHOWTIME IN VENICE

Featuring more than 70 exhibits, the 52nd Venice Biennale, easily the most talked-about international contemporary art event of the year, kicked off last week in the Italian city of Venice and will run until Nov. 20.

1. An exhibition adds the finishing touches to the installation of art and documents by Swedish artist Jacob Dahlgren
2. A couple, inspired by the work of Argentine artist Leonora Carrington
3. A visitor checks out *Alister*, an exhibit by Argentine artist Paula Kaelin
4. Emily Prineas presents hand-drawn portraits of nearly every U.S. soldier killed in Iraq and Afghanistan
5. The hanging man signs in *Younis* by the late U.S. artist, Julian Rhoades, spill out along for the female genre
6. An art lover notes the finer details of *King of Kings*, a work by Nigerian-born artist Olu Oluwalan
7. A child interacts with *Masso Okabe's* *Is There a Future for Our Past?*
8. A visitor checks out French artist Sophie Calle's *Interiors*



CANADA'S MINISTER OF WAR

Gordon O'Connor sees progress in Afghanistan. Not so much in Ottawa.

BY JOHN CEDDES • Defence Minister Gordon O'Connor was supposed to be a casualty of politics by now. The former brigadier general, supplanted by Prime Minister Stephen Harper to coordinate Canada's war in Afghanistan and oversee a multi-billion dollar upgrade of Canadian Forces equipment, has been coaxed out of his times by Ottawa's politics and political press. O'Connor entered cabinet last year carrying no word of baggage, having worked, after retiring from the service in 1993, as a lobbyist for defence contractors. The middle minister quickly established a reputation as a breezy, affable who sounded less like a smooth politician than the tank commander he once was. And then, this spring, he appeared, at last, openly inclined to the values of opposition questions, first about monitoring Afghan detainees, and then about paying funeral costs to the families of Canadian troops killed in Afghanistan.

The combined package—nagging questions about his background, a gaffe concerning the use of private jets, and repeated questions on how his leadership would pressure—would not really be more than enough to raise a quick outburst from cabinet, or at least a decision to a less visible role. Yet O'Connor is not only still standing, but with an upsurge in confidence, he says that, he also appears to have found confidence. "I understand how defence works and how the Department works," he says. "We had it all understood, and I'm learning day by day, it's how politics works and how the machinery of government works and that, that, that's all working on."

The fact that O'Connor is being allowed to continue learning on the job is testimony to his high standing with the Prime Minister. Perhaps the clearest indication of Harper's intention to stick by him came as a recharged May 31 exchange on the House, when

Liberal Leader Stéphane Dion called for O'Connor's resignation after the parents of a soldier killed in Kandahar yesterday had not been paid the full cost of the funeral, despite O'Connor's public assurances to the contrary. "He has served this country courageously in senior roles for 33 years," Harper said of O'Connor. "When the leader of the Opposition is able to stand in uniform and serve his country, then I'll care about his opinion of the performance of the minister of defence."

Muzzy remarked that it was odd for Harper, who has no military background himself, to set serious criteria as a standard for working into the debate. Still, he may have been signalling why O'Connor, as a late recruit Canadian example of a crossover from the senior ranks of the military to the top ranks of politics, is an ordinary minister to his eyes. And then there is the generational issue. O'Connor will likely go down in history as Canada's last defence minister whose understanding of the place of the military was powerfully shaped by his own memories of the Second World War and its aftermath. At 68, he brings the almost forgotten perspective of those who came of age when the Forces were central to public life in Canada, and then worked over the decades as the military dried—at least once. Canada's soldiers would die in Afghanistan—as the sacrifices of the national consciousness.

He views combat in Afghanistan as part of a long history of sacrifice, not as a job, and, especially poignant, a stark at the end of the era when peacekeeping seemed like the Canadian military's main job. "People should not join the Forces just for a nice career if they think they are going to avoid hard work," he says. "They won't." Although he says the Taliban has been



IN UNIFORM: O'Connor the civilian (top) in Galtburg City, with the PM in Kandahar, as a commanding officer in 1970

been back two years when it can no longer engage in full fledged battles, he sees the war as a stark reality going on long time. Even after Afghan wars, O'Connor expects more of that sort of military conflict, not the "classic peace keeping." He once helped the Forces plan for "New we anticipate some of these violent insurgencies or civil wars."

'HOW THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT WORKS. THAT I'M STILL WORKING ON'



O'CONNOR WAS BORN IN 1939. His father served in the Air Force during the Second World War, and as a career officer afterward. During the war years, the family lived in Ottawa's neighbourhood Queen Street, not far from Parliament Hill, where a modern office building, the World Exchange Centre, now stands. It was from this vantage that, as a five-year-old, O'Connor witnessed the Victory in Europe day celebrations on May 8, 1945. "I can remember the structures going down Queen Street there, and throwing all the newspapers and paper all over the place," he remembers. "People were just ecstatic."

He was always sure he wanted to join up, though his father ("Dad's a peeper to me"), a major of following his father into the Air Force. After earning a degree in science from Montreal's Concordia University, he enlisted in 1962. His first posting, to the base at Goose Bay, N.L., came just a month before the Cuban missile crisis. "I thought I was in between," he recalls. "I thought, 'Here I am, a young officer, and I'm going to war.' The

Armed Forces were being mobilized, in opposition to the prime minister of the day. We were loading our trucks on railway cars to go to Saint John to go overseas."

O'Connor's memory of his own enthusiasm at the prospect of war with the Soviet Union speaks to his understanding of the appeal of choosing to go to the war. "Now, as an older man, I'm quite happy that it didn't happen," he says. "But young guys, even today in Afghanistan, young guys want adventure." In his war and a full-time defence minister, he has travelled four times to visit Canadian troops in the field in Kandahar. There can be no doubt he identifies with those soldiers far more than with the political class that he has joined late in life.

Unlike previous defence ministers who tended to operate mostly from offices on Parliament Hill, O'Connor works every day in the Department of National Defence's bunker-like modern headquarters, where he was introduced by Mulcair. His office overlooks a continuing view down the Rideau Canal to the Gothic spires of the Parliament Hill. He has a desk that he refers to, with a faint but distinct air of devotion and a bit of his childhood awe toward the Peace Tower, as "that place over there."

It is a move that he is ambivalent about. Parliament Hill. He didn't like what the politicians there did to the Forces from the 1960s through the 1990s. And he isn't very happy with what has happened to them there since recently. But he can hang on to his job long enough, and the Times in power, his first-time government progress and unfolding

issues on Afghanistan could leave a permanent stamp that can

consciously shift politicians' might say. "He was never obvious about his military," he says. "I doubt he ever expected," says Douglas Ward, a Queen's University professor of defence management and former army buddy of O'Connor's. He joined Harper's Canadian Alliance before it merged with the Progress Conservative Party in 2006. At first, he volunteered to work on policy in MP Scott Reid's riding, on the east side of Ottawa. O'Connor admits he had no ambition to seek office. But when Reid's cabinet left the riding in 2006, he was asked to run in the new Carleton Place-McNicoll constituency. "My initial reaction was that was too good," O'Connor says. "It was suggested that I run on CPC. When I did, I realized there was a bunch of old folk on it, and I wouldn't be alone."

He won the riding in the 2006 election, and during the Conservatives' first appointment served as Harper's defence critic and largely crafted the party's defence platform. It proposed "steep-scale investment" to strengthen

"combined public defence forces," and claimed the Liberals had for decades "unfettered and unfettered Canada's armed forces. That reflected O'Connor's personal experience, watching the military devote itself to their post-Second World War mission, and then struggle through an era of budget cuts when Jean Chrétien's Liberals were eliminating the military's defence on the second half of the 1990s. He was out of uniform before the toughest years of restraint, having retired in 1994, not long after a Somali seaborne mission was beaten to a halt in 1995 by Canadian soldiers serving in UN peacekeeping missions. "Bismarck was absurd," he says of that period.

He joined the incarnation of public relations and consulting powerhouse Hill & Knowlton as a lobbyist for big defense corporations like General Dynamics and Airbus Military. After the Tories won the 2006 elections, some predicted that lobbying underground would leap him out of misdeed, his political torments still may should have. "There was an apparent air of conflict of interest and he shouldn't be there, period," says Liberalist in-law onetime Dennis Clement. His attacks on Gower less on a former lobbyist have grown to show his claim being a mutually well. Some questions were raised, to him, when he spent time in the U.S. military, but that day he was not a lobbyist, but a defense contractor supply forces with power to detect biological threats. On the other hand, Airbus has had to mount an aggressive campaign to try to reverse the U.S. military base of Lockheed Martin's C-130J tactical transport planes, on a deal expected to be worth close to \$5 billion, over competing A-100.

More serious, at least to political insiders, is the view that O'Connor just hasn't held his own in the House. His worst day may have been March 19, when he had to restrain himself after members of insisting that the International Committee of the Red Cross was monitoring and reporting back to Canada on the conditions of detainees captured by Canadian troops and then turned over to the Afghan army. In fact, the ICRC's policy allows to report on its findings only to the Afghan government. "I fully and without reservation apologize to the House for providing inaccurate information to members," O'Connor said.

Or perhaps May 32 was even more instructive for the proud former general. That was the day General and Marie Winifred Wing born, Gen., held a news conference in Ottawa to refute O'Connor's claim the previous day that the military was paying the full cost of funeral services for all soldiers killed while he was defence minister. The grieving father and the father of his son, Cpl. Matthew Dunsmuir, took more than \$12,000, and the

Will the Prime Minister ensure that no mother, no family suffers this again, and will he take the first step and fire that minister of defence," shouted Liberal deputy leader Michael Ignatieff in what must have been one of the most stinging of the many demands for O'Connor's head.

Even the most fierce purists, however, would be hard pressed to imagine that O'Connor intent to still mourning families of fallen soldiers. Indeed, this week Lincoln Diering said he is pleased with a new arrange-

HE SEES MESSY CONFLICT AHEAD, NOT CLASSIC PEACEKEEPING. 'WE ANTICIPATE MORE OF THESE INSURGENCIES AND CIVIL WARS.'



ment to cover payments for funeral costs. (The new rate of \$12,900 will be retroactive to all service members killed since Canada began an involvement in Afghanistan on Oct. 7, 2001, and replaces the old basic rate of \$4,675 for burial costs.) "Given my background, I want to be seen as a soldier, soldier, armed and my family are treated properly and a few dollars here and there don't matter," O'Connor says. "There have been a number of occasions where I've had to personally intervene and say, 'This isn't fair.' There's nobody to blame for this. The way governments work, when rules are set, they follow the rules."

He is more guarded in what he will say about his concerns now as the deadline nears. One Defence official, asking not to be identified, suggested the problem should never have been in to contend with in the first place, since arriving at a deal with the Afghanistan government on prisoner transfers is properly the responsibility of diplomats, not soldiers, no questions should have been fielded in such

by Foreign Minister Peter Mackay. O'Connor is careful not to pick fights with fellow unionists, suggesting only that he was not well briefed by officials. "In Parliament I work on the best advice I have at the time," he says. "And so that wherever the advice is at the time, I try to follow that advice."

If he's not about what was wrong with last year's responses to distance questions, O'Connor is much more forceful this time using the underlying purpose note of the debate. He continues to suggest the Liberals and other opposition MPs were unfairly viewed about the conduct of Taliban prisoners. Thus despite the fact that independent observers in all, including Amnesty International, have raised concerns about possible abuse of prisoners at the hands of Afghan, not the National Directorate of Security. "For three weeks," O'Connor says of the opposition's tack when the distance debate was dominating Question Period, "they talked about the (sic) and feeding of the Taliban

CONNOR demonstrates the apocalyptic assault on Britain the Horse in "Asterik-land," a more direct reference from his own adventures. Indeed, he sounds less defensive and more crassly persuasive when he states that issues like democracy and kindness to fighting the Taliban and rebuilding the Forum. He argues that since Canada's troops moved early last year from Afghanistan to Kandahar, in the violence that has followed, the British have had fundamentally changed the society, equating "When our troops arrived in the Kandahar area they were confronted by nearly 50,000 Taliban in the west of the city," he says. "The Taliban were intended to invade Kandahar city, which is the second city of Afghanistan, and sort of sit it up as their capital. What happened is that our base, with assistance from the Americans, the British, the Dutch, ended that vision. Kandahar province will have regular violence."

idea's O'Connor says "That's what we're trying to do, it's to start people away [but we're not] building."

At least as before the mission runs in February 2009. And maybe someone else. Much of the political debate surrounding the mission now focuses on cost cutting. Libya and Lesser Deserted Islands Canada should know how that will play in troops out of the country now at the end of the current two-year mission. The mission is being re-evaluated without. As for O'Connor and the United States aren't signaling the next step. "We haven't decided yet what the future is," he says. "I've decided to make my own choice, promise to bring it to Paris and see if there are any more." The best cost-cutting plan NATO as a whole. O'Connor argues, to to train up the African army, which is still halfway to its target size of 70,000 troops, so take over defining the country.

Now, this assumption, O'Connor promises to deliver new armor to the military as a bulwark of American sovereignty, and as an emergency response force in case of national emergency or terrorist attack. "We're going to use [this armor] to make sure our troops, navy and air force are in the north," he believes. "And you are going to see other initiatives that improve our security here in the south."

All this while he comments nothing on a full-fledged five-year spending spree, which he says will be the "biggest in California's history," includes new planes, helicopters, and army trucks. He alludes in terms of a do-or-die: "If I can't be allowed to say have long enough to get through it," O'Connor says. "Our armed forces are going to be a lot better off." Considering the political and by far the carnage so far, it would be foolishly to hope that the war's hang on long enough to break off a few more terms. ■

CANADA in crisis: (clockwise) O'Connor with troops in Afghanistan; Afghan children wave at Canadian soldiers; last week's bus attack in Kabul; MacKay and Saragovitz in Kandahar

READ MARK STEYN

DAILY FROM THE CONRAD BLACK TRIAL AT MACLEANS.CA



MACLEANS.CA

eyesight. "This has been an agonizing issue for some considerable time," he says. And the national chief notes that it's just a step in a very long journey. "It doesn't mean we've eradicated poverty, homelessness, untreated mental drinking water," says Pentecost. "All of these other problems don't just disappear."

IT'S HARD to get a straight answer from Terry Nelson about how he intends to spend the Canada Day weekend—relaxing or running a berrade. The 24-hour blockade may be downgraded to just a few hours, he says, or not happen at all. Nelson has floated the idea of a "voluntary" stoppage by the rallygoers—something CP doesn't seem out of breath, but CP categorically rejects (CN did sue against the leaders of the AgriM blockade in

striking protesters, and alarming statistics. "Natives make up only two per cent of the Canadian population, but 50 per cent of all police deaths." Nelson promises the new video will also focus on the trade links between Canada and the U.S.—warring over neighbours put how much have Indian blockades could vocal on their own economy. "It's a members game, 94's going to wake up the Americas."

Nelson is thinking big. Even if AgriM's overland drives are eventually unrolled, the Winnipeg land is the first of 3,000 acres the band is entitled to convert to reserve status, there are still disputes over land rights, cultural values, the bridge that spans the Red and Blue, and the harvesting of traditional plants. The beauty of a red blockade is that

ONLY EIGHT NATIVE LAND CLAIMS ARE SETTLED A YEAR

Ontario, and promises to acknowledge on any part of the road. It follows the same path. I see far, there doesn't seem to be much to fear from the day of action. A partial shut down by the JUN shows a few marches is needed for places like Vancouver and Toronto, and a bit of rock music in P.E.I.

But the Rocco River chief seems intent on keeping up the pressure, slowly for appearances. "If we just hand out pamphlets on June 15, the white guys will say the Indians declined our offer." It's been reported that a Winnipeg production house, working on a video he plans to send to the American TV network, only days before in Ottawa, and up to the 10th. Entitled "A Long Train of Abuse," it will document recent poverty, their high rates of incarceration, and the 900 Aboriginal women who have disappeared or died violently over the past 30 years. It's not the first film Nelson has produced. In the studio, wearing a T-shirt with a picture of Geronimo and the slogan "Horseshoe Security: Fighting Terrorism since 1492," he talks up a past example. It's a mix of rock music, jump cut images of police



NELSON (left) works on A Long Train of Abuse in WINNIPEG

and not require much forward planning or any expertise. "All we need is a car on the tracks. And there are 12,000 of them a year within Winnipeg," he says.

The photographer asks Nelson to stop aside to catch the last light of day. It's a lucky break. A raw truck is about to hook up to the car. The man who would bring Canada to its knees drives across the street and disappears. A few minutes later, he returns clutching a \$15 take. "They tried to tow my car away. On my own land," he says with a laugh. He wonders aloud if Macleans might pay the fee. He's no longer joking. ■

journalist gabeleau-wakeham regent.com

FAMILY DIFFERENCES OVER AFGHANISTAN

"The old fall difference of opinion and my brother sharing his views. It's very domestic, and Canadians are flying around the world to show others how the same freedom," said Nigel Zind Regent. Capt. Catherine Dine is responsible for his brother, professor Francis Diney-Diney, who is opposed to Canada's involvement in Afghanistan. This week they went to appear on opposite sides of a Quebec City protest. Dine's regiment is leaving for Kandahar

Removing the accent from success



NEW CANADIANS: Placed with homogeneous accents outperform

BY MARCO VERRI • Toronto and regional accents are a fact of life in a multicultural country like Canada. But according to one consultant, those who struggle to ditch their accent have an economic edge over those who don't—part of the reason why so many immigrants are financially disadvantaged. And in a recent study, Alberto Chong at the Torontonian Development Bank found that as much as 60 per cent of the immigrant population in Canada's Golden Horseshoe with fairly homogeneous accents performed better with more vocal variety.

Brian Andy Kruger. In 1997, the San Francisco-born Kruger was working as a financial director in Los Angeles when an American film producer approached him. "We can't hire the Vancouver actors because they're speaking such strange languages," the producer said. "Each client is talking to you." Now living in Vancouver, Kruger teaches "accent reduction" courses to Canadians, using the same method he developed to help Canadian performers change their "voice" into "ours."

Immigrants from different parts of the world present challenges and opportunities, Kruger says. Filipinos have a hard time with the letter "R" in the Philippines because the "R" is the position for Spanish speakers, turning it into "L" and "V" is difficult for Hindi speakers, as "L" becomes "lab."

No matter the accent, Kruger explains the same approach: speak clearly, dangle your vowels and memorize the nine alphabet phonemes of the English language. For example, to say any word beginning with a vowel, shape your mouth into opening that allows you to say "ahh." The method is based on what Kruger calls "generic American," the language spoken in places like Los Angeles and San Francisco. In California, he says, we speak more quickly and on-line our words. Learning to kick that habit could be a key to greater financial success. ■

Taking unsafe mailboxes off the road

BY SUZANNE TAYLOR • Few more than half a century, Nellie Stronach picked up his mail at the end of his driveway on Portnevo Road, just outside of Fredericton, N.B., where he lived his entire life. Then suddenly, things changed in May. "We got a letter in the mail one day that said we couldn't get it in the mail," Stronach, 68, says. Instead, he had to drive 35 km to a community mailbox.

Stronach was one of thousands of angry rural residents whose door-to-door mail service was discontinued after Canada Post drivers complained about unsafe conditions on rural roads in the Maritimes, Quebec and Ontario, including having to stop along blind corners, in heavy traffic and on narrow roads that don't allow enough room to pass. So the company put together a list of road safety experts who developed criteria to assess each and every one of Canada's 84,000 rural mailboxes.

The review began last fall and will take years to complete. (2,643) had been evaluated as of June 8, and Canada Post spokesman John Cairns. Some of these assessments with dangerous mailbox locations came from a letter upon the road or up their driveways, but others will have to use a community mailbox or rent a post office box, free of charge. Most of those mailbox have been "very undisturbed," Cairns says, although "there are some people who obviously aren't happy, and we speak to them for that."

The Canadian Union of Postal Workers isn't happy, either. Union president Deborah Thompson says Canada Post hasn't worked closely enough with the local unions who know the roads and could help come up with solutions. "Rural Canadians deserve prompt delivery to their homes," she said. "The community mailbox solution, to us, would be the last straw."

Review's final service was ordered on June 1, after the union said it could easily raise the safety criteria by moving his mailbox a few metres back from the road. But Cairns hasn't been as lucky. ■

Will our pin-up girl travel to Afghanistan?

BY MICHAEL FRISCOLANTI • Sgt. Chris Kargman won't see anyone at Kandahar would mean open the envelope. At least, he hoped a few lines of his handwritten note would make it onto the "Mail Bag" pages. "I really doubt that this letter will have been acknowledged at all, to be honest," he says now. "I'm annoyed at the reaction."

By now, our loyal readers know the story: Last month, halfway through his tour of duty in Afghanistan, Kargman mailed an letter from the front lines, saying how much he enjoys Macleans—especially the "extremely attractive young lady" featured on the front of this year's University Year. "She is the best pin up in our collection," he wrote. Within days, the anonymous cover got 24-page King's Eyes—a household name. The Sun newspaper has even placed her photo on the front page, dubbing her the "Darling of Kandahar."

But Kargman had no idea what he'd started. Until a few days ago, the 27-year-old infantryman was stationed in remote Forward Operating Base, out of the main outside world. "I was in the back of the line," he says, speaking in Macleans by email.

It was in Kandahar, Kandahar and heard the news. "I think you can understand why I was so shocked," he says, speaking in Macleans by email.

It was too close to the front line, she was too close to Kandahar and Kandahar the news in person. "It would be absolutely the coolest thing I've ever done," he says. So Macleans has submitted an official request to the Canadian Forces asking that they be included on the cover "honour roll" to Kandahar. "The soldiers would certainly appreciate it," he says. "I've no doubt," Kargman says. But the magazine doesn't want people to get the wrong idea. "The last thing I'd want is to turn it into a contest," he says. "The letter I wrote was well-written and, honest, and simply a thank you note." It was never losing for a response, he says—not from Macleans, and certainly not from King. "I know she has had quite a bit of attention and I hope that has not caused a problem for her," he says. "I feel free to offer my email to her if she's interested (with an expectation of no reply). Nevertheless, my hello to her for me if you get a chance." ■



KING: Sealing the troops would be the coolest



CANADA POST is reviewing thousands of rural routes



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HAMAS SUPPORTERS at a rally last week. Palestinians have chosen sides in the Hamas-Fatah conflict—instead of demanding that it stop.

PALESTINE'S DEATH SPIRAL

With the Hamas takeover of Gaza, the Palestinian dream of nationhood is slipping away

BY MICHAEL PEROU • Their cause has no enemy and global support that adheres to less peoples can only dream of. The goal of creating an independent Palestinian state between the United Nations and much of international diplomacy, and it is linked by organizations as disparate as the Arab League and Western leaders' armies. "Free Palestine" banners are held aloft at anti-globalization marches, and the motto is displayed on bumper stickers and on the backs of people who would have a difficult time telling the difference between a KKK and a Kufi.

Yet for an ideology, even since the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, this goal has eluded Palestinians and their supporters, through periods of hope—and setbacks. What is now unfolding in Gaza, however, is different, more serious, and possibly irreversible. Last week, following months of intercommunal

fighting and failed ceasefires, Hamas launched an all-out assault on the comparatively secular and moderate political party Fatah, and seized control of the Gaza Strip. Mada'een's resident Abu Anwar, a 13-year-old resident of Rafah in the Gaza Strip, in the midst of the fighting, was afraid to leave her home because of the violence outside, staying indoors, reading and playing on the computer. "Children don't go out, because the events are dangerous for them, because of the killing. It's dangerous for us," she said.

Hamas's takeover in Gaza shortened the way of the Palestinian government in the West Bank, although, Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas ruled the Hamas prime minister Ismail Haniyeh and some in a new emergency cabinet. Haniyeh, whose parents have built a fortune in weaving the veil and formerly closed Internet cafes and shops that will, it is said, appear poised to open Gaza into an Islamic state. "The era of peace and Islamic rule has arrived," boasted Islam Shabaneh, a Hamas official. Hundreds of Palestinians tried to enter Gaza as the border crossings reopened. A handful were let through, joining the 12,000 Gaza Palestinians who have

left the territory since Hamas triumphed in parliamentary elections in January last year.

What few are yet willing to acknowledge, perhaps because it is so painful, is that these events have dashed a crushing hope: no Palestinian nationhood. Israel will not recognize Palestinian sovereignty with Hamas, a movement dedicated to its destruction and an ally of its mortal enemy Iran. And the Israeli public has lost any appetite it once had for unilateral disengagement, after doing so in Gaza resulted in rocket attacks, the kidnapping of an Israeli soldier, and now a border controlled by Hamas. If the dream of Palestine isn't dead, it is slipping away. "I think it is the biggest catastrophe in the Palestinian case," Hassan Bad, the founder and director of the Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group, told Mada'een. "I think that we are destroying the dream to establish and create a Palestinian self-willed, secular state."

For more than a decade, Kufi has bravely defied and condemned human rights violations committed against Palestinians by both Israel and by other Palestinians. Struck at his home in Jericho, in the West Bank, Kufi's

voice needed with frustration and outrage. "Fatah and Hamas are people who are struggling for their own power," he said. "And they have the struggle that the struggle has to be appreciated toward the occupation itself."

He blamed Palestinians for choosing sides when the conflict between Hamas and Fatah turned violent, instead of demanding that it end. "This bloody internal fight means that almost all the Palestinian people have blood on their hands, including, of course, myself. People have become so frustrated, so angry, so hopeless, and so tired." He added that some "simple" Palestinians are watching the chaos in Gaza and muting that they would prefer the Israeli occupation. "Now imagine that after 48 years of occupation, you are pulling the occupation from your sides to your forehead. It's unbelievable. You are telling the occupation to interfere more. You're sitting in my vision. Now, please, go ahead to my bedroom." That is the reality.

But said he could not imagine how the war-torn Palestinian factions might be reconciled and civility restored to co-existence in Gaza. "There has been talk of international intervention, perhaps from neighboring Arab states, but the dilemma is that 'We don't deserve it,'" he said. "The issue is such a horrible situation, if the Palestinian can't restore by themselves, can't help themselves, then the Palestinians will never be considered as a people who deserve that intervention."

It is wrong, of course, to pretend that Palestinian stood on the brink of utter defeat and threw it all away over the last few weeks. In the sad history of the Palestinian people during this century and the last, there is no other age of Hamas. Israel itself was created on territory inhabited by Arabs who never agreed to give it up, and hundreds of thousands of Palestinians fled or were forcibly driven from their homes during the Israeli war of independence. Most who remained were made Israeli citizens, most who fled to neighboring Arab states were left in refugee camps.

Then, following its victory in the 1947 Six Day War, Israel (as you might the Gaza peninsula, the Syrian Golan Heights, the old city of Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Golan Strip. And Israeli, euphoric because of their decisive victory and capture of the biblical lands of Judaea and Samaria (the West Bank), plentiful Jewish settlements throughout Gaza and the West Bank and established a military occupation over the Palestinian territory.

The breach, 1967 war also had a profound effect on Arab public opinion. Many Muslim faith in their leaders. Islamist groups, especially the Muslim Brotherhood of which Hamas would emerge as a Palestinian branch, flourished, increasingly active in mosques,

charitable organizations, schools, student councils and trade unions. The result was a steady penetration by the Brotherhood into Palestinian society. As a result, Hamas found fertile ground when it was formally created at the beginning of the first intifada in 1987 with the purpose of destroying Israel and establishing an Islamic rule in its place.

Hamas's charter is explicit regarding its goals and objectives to achieve them: "Three



Some Palestinians muted that they'd prefer Israeli occupation

intifadot in the Palestinian problem except by jihad. The Islamic resistance movement believes that the land of Palestine is an Islamic waqf [religious endowment] throughout the generations until Judgment Day, so any part of it, should not be squandered. It, any part of it, should not be given up."

The Islamic group's popularity increased as Palestinian grew disillusioned with the corrupt, ineffective, Fatah-dominated Palestinian Authority, whose infrastructure was steadily eroded by Israel. In 2006, Hamas first emerged as a political force, but it also made borders against Israel, built its own government offices, schools and daycares in Palestinian communities that had suffered attacks and sieges by the Israeli military.

Never before, almost no one predicted that Hamas would prevail in the 2006 Palestinian legislative council election. The group had boycotted the 2002 presidential elections, but now it drew and fired electoral politics and overcame a media onslaught to ingratiate its image in the West. For \$150,000, Hamas

leaders were advised, among other things, not to celebrate killing people and to stop firing their weapons.

Hamas's electoral victory created a dilemma for those countries that had demanded that Palestinians embrace democracy. The Islamic faith forbids war and violence and no one expects Israel's right to exist, many Western countries, including Canada, and all aid to the Palestinian government, and Israel from an revenues that it had collected on the Authority's behalf. This boycott continued even after Hamas and Fatah formed a shaky unity government in an effort to end their isolation. "What it had the effect of doing was pushing the side toward civil war," says Nathan Brown, a professor of political science and international affairs at George Washington University. "It's very clear why the U.S. does not like Hamas. It's not clear that they had any kind of effective response to it."

Israel, however, is managing the issue. Palestinian civil war is an opportunity, Israeli Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni thinks that Israel should take advantage of this split. Prime Minister Ehud Olmert says he considers the new Palestinian cabinet a "junior partner" and has pledged to release frozen tax rev-



enues. Arab and Western nations, including the United States and Canada, have also been up to declare their support for Mahmoud Abbas and restore international aid.

But such optimism breeds the question of who will happen to the Gaza Strip. Some analysts believe that Hamas will be forced to be moderate by the random realities of civil administration. Matthew Levitt, a former FBI analyst who has just published a comprehensive study of Hamas, expects that Levitt believes that Hamas's social work—the daycares, clinics and kindergarten—are simply a means of fundraising support for its ultimate goal of destroying Israel and liberating Palestine. "The fact that Hamas would do this, huge economic damage, infrastructure, means that Hamas prepares explosives during periods of calm, and that goes against peace

and even territorial withdrawal. We do not give out Hamas calls for blacklisting, doesn't strain that Hamas cannot be so open to be made non-simply by various international Palestinian economic policies," he writes.

Ochry, such as Mahmoud Yaghi, a native of Ramallah and a columnist for the Palestinian newspaper al-Ayyat, believe that Hamas will founder if it is forced to govern



A HAMAS RALLY IN GAZA SHOWS FATAH arrests a Hamas activist in the West Bank.

"Let them deal with all the political and economic problems. And if Hamas delivers, and my guess is that it cannot, then the Palestinians themselves will divert their support to Fatah," he told McClatchy.

This, admittedly, may be the best hope for supplanting Hamas in Gaza. As Ben-Porat, a researcher at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, put it: "Only Palestinians can defeat Hamas." The problem is that the Fatah-led Palestinian Authority had years to demonstrate basic governing skills, and the results were miserable. They've set a low standard for Hamas to beat. International boycotts might make governing more difficult for Hamas, but it will also provide them with a scapegoat. And funding from Iran would likely make up for any economic shortfall.

Palestinian prospects aren't much brighter in the West Bank. True, the Palestinian government's isolation is ending, and negotiations with Israel are once again feasible. But with little legitimate authority in the Gaza Strip, Mahmoud Abbas's claim to speak on behalf of all Palestinians is tenuous.

And while Olmert is no doubt eager to take Abbas by reducing the suffering of Palestinians in the West Bank, Palestinian statehood isn't on his current agenda. Olmert's own political future is so shaky, with a final report on Israel's political and military leadership's handling of the summer's war in Lebanon expected to further damage his image and credibility. He's proven himself cruder than even he had thought. But Olmert simply doesn't have the political capital to risk negotiating Palestinian sovereignty.

The other path to greater Palestinian independence involves Israel's unilateral with-



The best hope for supplanting Hamas may actually be to let it govern

drawn from occupied territories, so nothing is left from South Lebanon in 2006 and Gaza in 2007. This plan did last summer, when Israeli was struck from both sides. Then has always been a minority of Israelis who gave a greater Israel that includes all of the West Bank and Gaza. For them, any withdrawal is a religious betrayal. "We can't give away Judea, Jackson, Jericho," Moshe Katsav, a Knesset member, said. Katsav, in a conversation through the Western Wall in Jerusalem last

year, being present without a visible picture on the Palestinian side.

Which is upon back to Hamas, Fatah, and the rest of war that threatens Palestine. Israel will deal with Fatah, but Fatah cannot defeat Hamas militarily. It can only rely on the support of Palestinians by demonstrating that it can better meet their needs—both in terms of social welfare and securing concessions from Israel. It has a chance to do this in the West Bank by breaking with its history of corruption and incompetence, and reforming. If it succeeds, it may back Gaza, says Mohammad Yaghi, the al-Ayyat columnist. If it fails, he says, then Hamas may also take over the West Bank. If that occurs, the dream of a viable and independent Palestine really will be over. ■



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SCHOOL DAYS: Students at Tehran's Azad Kashi University gathering against the regime last December

FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Against the odds,
democracy activists
in Iran battle on

BY MICHAEL PEYRONI • In Iran, Tehran's Javad Zahedi, an Iranian democratic activist and an exceptionally brave man, during a nine period over the last eight years when he was not in jail. It was in April 2004, as the Iranian capital, Tehran. Zahedi had just completed a four year prison term that included 10 months of solitary confinement and extensive torture. He had five boxes returned after the 1999 student motion which thousands of Iranian demonstrated to support a constitution and democracy and fought pitched battles with police and Islamic vigilantes.

Zahedi's mother died while he was in prison, and he was not permitted to attend the funeral. At the time of his release, Zahedi was told to keep quiet. He didn't. A few more he later, 100,000 and several other Iranian democrats—his great personal risk—agreed to secretly meet to discuss the use of underground democracy support in Iran. They agreed that they would not meet in an article I was writing on the topic, and when it was published, Zahedi was immediately detained. At least four more Iranian democrats who met with him in Tehran, including Firooz Dabestani, Kianoush Kavian, Saeed Karami, and Alireza Zohabi, were arrested in the months that followed.

Zahedi has been in jail almost continuously ever since. Periodically, he was released but was immediately re-arrested for political activities and was re-arrested. Eventually, the Iranian authorities must have grown tired of the cycle and have now locked him up for more than two straight years.

Tehran's crisis, in the Orwellian language of the Islamic Republic, tends to attract such as belonging to a banned organization, violating the supreme leader of Iran, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, or embarking on national security. In reality, he is guilty only of wishing to live in a secular democracy. A couple of years ago, he was expelled a letter out of prison in which he praised the American revolution as the Islamic Revolution. "I wish he was here with us," Zahedi wrote from Firooz prison, the senior chairman where the Canadian physician resident Zahedi Kavian was raped and tortured to death in 2003.

Zahedi recently smuggled out an underground newspaper, this time from the Rizeh State prison in Karaj, just west of the capital. He writes that he has been diagnosed with up to 100 lashes "so that my soul will be for good and so that I would not be too human to write letters or do human rights activities while in prison." According to several human rights reports from other prisoners at the facility, Zahedi—who is believed with other human rights, not political activists—has been beaten up twice, once by guards with the conviction of the prison guards, and once by the guards themselves.

Still, in his letter, Zahedi is typically defiant. "Democracy, freedom and human rights are what I believe in. Why do you have to destroy my back?" he writes, referring to the threatened lashing. "Long Live Iran."

Zahedi is exceptional, but he is not unique. The democratic movement in Iran has not developed under the presidency of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. Many activists who were emboldened during the comparatively more

open presidency of Mohsen Rahn-Mahdavi now keep their heads down on campus and their energies into arts and culture, areas where they can express subtle dissent far from the spotlight without openly challenging the ruling religious establishment. But there are still many openly calling for fundamental political change in their country. In December, thousands of students protested against the forced retirement of liberal professors and the harassment of politically active students. When President Ahmadinejad visited Azad Kashi University in Tehran, he was greeted by crowds of students who accused him of fascism and burned his photograph. The previous day, the students had gathered to chant "Death to the dictator!" Firooz Dabestani, a middle-aged man who once campaigned to overthrow the shah, refused to compromise his idealistic extremist view in jail. He is a good friend of Zahedi and credited much to describe their last meeting. Zahedi was transferred to the same prison where Dabestani was held, and the two friends were able to speak for five minutes through a cellblock window. Zahedi, Karami, and Zahedi are the only active.

Hossein Zareidokht Anbari is another Iranian activist in 2005, facing a lengthy prison term, he fled over the mountains to Turkey and now lives in Germany. "It was difficult to leave," he said. "We have a responsibility to our society. We believe that the Islamic regime is oppressing the Iranian people. We believe that there needs to be change, that there is a need for people to need to survive."

Anbari is opposed to economic sanctions against Iran, arguing that they will only punish Iran's people, not its government. But he says that Iranian democrats remain who continue to live in Canada and stand in the United Nations against Iranian human rights violations, and he believes that the Islamic regime can be pressured through diplomatic channels. Anbari, however, is not optimistic about democracy's prospects to gain for the immediate future. He still believes that political freedoms will eventually come to Iran, but many more studies and activists will be jailed in the meantime. ■

WHEN THE SPIES ARE OUT OF CONTROL

Corporate snooping is big business. But where do snoops draw the line?

BY JASON KIRBY

IN 2002, DELL COMPUTER, the magnifying glass of the personal technology market, was looking up to spy the chip at play on its biggest rival, Hewlett-Packard. Dell had already cranked mobile with its cheap, direct-to-consumer computers and it seemed to do the same in the private business, which HP dominated. Not content to buy and watch security business unfold, HP officials dispatched the company's corporate intelligence unit to uncover their rival's plans. A few months later HP had what it needed—irrefutable proof, details about Dell's espionage of programs in the e-mail. Dell's private business turned out to be less of a threat than some had feared, and the details of HP's covert snooping operation stayed buried until late last month, when they came to light in documents leaked on a message board by a former executive. But coming on the heels of HP's espionage scandal last year, in which the company's investigators spied on its board of directors and journalists, the episode served as yet another reminder of just how secretive, and sophisticated, and sometimes ruthless, such snooping operations have become among major corporations.

HP is far from alone. The company is just one of many willing to go to extraordinary lengths to protect itself and, some say, to take a quarter into the spools of competition. Details have emerged that Wal-Mart operates a massive employee surveillance program, sends out undercover operatives to infiltrate activist groups, and has a three-decade team that regularly visits through customer records. Steve Jobs, the CEO of Apple, is believed to have planted evidence of a fake product insider to test out a mobile operating within the company. And at least

over Canadian companies, Air Canada and drug maker Bristol have paid private investigators to rifle through airports' garbage for evidence of smuggling. Last fall, lawyers for Toronto-based insurer Fortis Financial reportedly told employees of a New York hedge fund that Fortis scores of trying to do it harm.

All these cases have raised a fever in the press, but the courts give companies plenty of leeway to spy. And for good reason. In the post-9/11 environment, the world is focused on security intelligence. But the world of protecting corporate and trade secrets is just as big, and the stakes, arguably, are at least as high—especially if you believe that the health of a national economy is fundamental to a nation's ability to defend itself. Companies are duty bound to their shareholders to do everything legally possible to protect their assets, especially with corporate espionage on the rise. As a result, a huge private sector industry, drawing from the ranks of retiring spies and intelligence officers, is growing.

THE THEFT OF TRADE SECRETS COSTS \$100 BILLION IN THE U.S. ANNUALLY



CIA DIRECTOR, Gen. James L. Jones, is shown in a screenshot of a website spy network operating in Canada; CIA agent David (above) has made Wal-Mart into a high-tech intelligence operation.

to serve the needs of government executives. The question is just where is the line between competitive intelligence and espionage? At what point does vigilance against spies and insiders—once going as far as defense against attacks in the name of securing market share—become a violation of the law? The law is proving to be difficult help in the matter, since technological advances have fast outpaced the courts. As recent history shows, corporate codes of ethics represent constantly shifting ground, where principles and guidelines are easily lost in the heat of battle, and where the line between smart business and treachery is defined by whether or not you get caught. "Some over-the-top people are getting into areas that are unethical, and when the legal system catches up, will be litigated," says William John Smith, founder of the Business Espionage Control & Countermeasures Association. "For the moment, there are a lot of grey areas out there." As technology goes more sophisticated, and with billions of dollars on the line,



the temptation and ethical questions are only going to get more troubling.

Of course, for a company that has seen its secret stolen all too often, such issues may appear black and white. Wal-Mart, for instance, has been looking around information like a hawk for years. In 2001, a confidential source named some of the reasons that decided some of the options the company was considering in order to cut costs: health-care insurance costs, such as hiring only healthy workers. The memo quipped a flowchart of reasons from union activists. In March, an internal PowerPoint presentation that detailed the results of a customer survey showed up on a blog and is now widely available for download. Then, in April, an employee, Wal-Mart field clerk, leaked sensitive information about a plan called "Project Red" that could entail spying on the SunChips.

Even on corporate espionage, the line is blurry. To put the importance of that information into perspective, consider that Wal-Mart, with US\$150 billion in sales, runs the economic engine of Florida and Tennessee, while employing 1.9 million people worldwide. To a company like that, losing control of its sensitive financial information or apparently worthless. Those who leak it are effectively stealing money from the pockets of untold thousands of shareholders.

To deal with its chronic leaks and other security threats, Wal-Mart has joined the ranks of the world's most vigilant corporations. At the heart of the company's efforts are men like Kenneth S. Sorenson—someone who lives a thing or two about keeping secrets. Sorenson once worked for Uncle Sam, logging nearly two decades as a field agent with the Central Intelligence Agency until he was appointed to replace an agency at the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Now he is head of global security for Wal-Mart.

Two years ago, the company set up an intelligence gathering center and hired David Harrison, a veteran military intelligence officer, to deal with a dizzying array of potential threats. Last year Harrison explained to a gathering of security professionals some of what the company is up against. "It's bombing in China, an armed robbery in Brazil, an armed robbery in Las Vegas, another bomb threat, and that was just yesterday." To help safeguard itself, Harrison said, Wal-Mart keeps a vast warehouse of personal data on its current and former employees, SunChips Club

members and even customers. For instance, a specifically track those who buy prepared meals and make bulk purchases of prepared childcare. "If you're buying more than three children's items, we know," he reportedly told the audience. "It will be tracked."

For a large company, it's not all right to be over the top, but competition is under increasing pressure to take security of all kinds seriously. Almost surely there are reports of yet another case of corporate espionage, and the stakes are getting higher.

Back in 1994 Time magazine, in a story titled "Corporate Spies," that could have been signed by today's headlines, described how companies regularly hire professional sleuths, tapped telephones and searched through rubbish to steal rival "trade secrets." The difference today is a matter of scale. Because globalization and outsourcing, corporations are now just as likely to be operating in Tampa and Tamil Nadu as they are in Toronto and Toledo, exposing



AIR CANADA hired investigators (above) to take the garbage of a WestJet crew suspected of stealing data.

on its way to becoming an agency focused on corporate espionage as much as national security.

Thanks to the complexities of securing web online networks accessed by thousands of employees, companies are more vulnerable than ever. It was through Air Canada's website that rival WestJet learned detailed information about the airline's routes and traffic. Last year, WestJet agreed to pay out a total of \$15 million for six actions. "Security used to mean having fire, cancer and guards," says Roy O'Hara, a senior vice-president of corporate security firm Vance International, a division of Metrolink-based Garda. "We all have that, but all the information that used to be behind those walls is now sitting on the Internet."

The problem is, for those companies that do suspect they're being robbed or spied upon, there is often nowhere to turn for immediate help. The legal system already stretched to the limit and getting a prosecutor's attention is often impossible until the

accents are already out the door. In April, Montreal's prominent giant Bombardier was accused of getting a court in Quebec to issue a former senior executive had stolen sensitive documents and intended to give them to his new employer. But such cases are the exception. "In most cases, governments and the courts can't really help companies because prosecutors are already overwhelmed," says Ed Ridd, a director in the Montreal-based law firm, a corporate security research firm in New York. "That's the weakness in the system."

As a result, companies are increasingly taking matters into their own hands. And that has presented substantial risks—both legal, moral, and reputational corporate espionage. Take last year's HP spy scandal. Questions private investigators investigated individuals in order to obtain employee records at board members and executives, a practice known as "background checks." But what turned out to be an internal investigation of board members led to a full disclosure of the company's actions and resulted in high-profile resignations, huge embarrassment, and even a criminal indictment against the company.

WOMBS FOR RENT

At \$5,000, outsourced pregnancy is a bargain for Westerners. For India's poor, it means a giant leap into the middle class.

BY SARMISHTA SUBRAMANIAN

Pooja Pandey will sometimes cry when she thinks of the baby she didn't see for a month after she gave him up, a little boy weighing 5 lb 6 oz, who came into the world last April in a satellite delivery room at the Rajiv Gandhi Medical Hospital in Anand, India. "He was an angel," she says tearfully. After the girl birth, she turned the infant in her room at Rajiv for two weeks. Her husband and two children visit him, her eight-year-old still weans him the baby while in her mother's company for sickle-cell. And then Pandey bawled him over to his rightful owner and genetic parents, a couple from the Indianapolis of Bangalore, some 1,400 km away.

Another nine or 10 months from now, assuming the pregnancy "takes," she plans to go through the entire process again, this time for an Indian immigrant couple settled in the U.S. Already she decides the delivery date. But her son, as a paid surrogate, has given her an opportunity the children otherwise have dreamed of: the chance to escape the lower middle-class ghettos in which women are one of the most rapid class-bound demographics in the world. For her last pregnancy, Pandey was paid 100,000 rupees, or \$1,600—a sum that would take her years to earn in her job as a clerk at an insurance store or with her occasional work as a government security guard. She used the money to purchase a two-bedroom flat. The money from the next pregnancy will allow her to send her

kids to a better school—where they can learn English and work with computers—and then to college. Her heart's desire is that her daughter will become a doctor, or else a pilot.

Pandey is a bright, high-spirited 28-year-old from this area in the state of Gujarat, in the western tip of India. She possesses only a high school education—an abiding regret, since her ambition now is to become a teacher. But her geographic location has given her an unusual and spectacularly lucrative career option: unobtainable in another time, she's part of a cottage industry of Indian surrogate mothers who have given hope to dozens of infertile couples all over the world, and new

life to this dusty town.

Anand's population, 110,000, is an unlikely destination for a medical tourism boom. About an hour and a half from the nearest airport (in Ahmedabad, an hour or so by air from Delhi or Mumbai), it's a remote, Polaris town by Indian standards, the kind of place where mailing addresses include areas like "behind Sunbath Regency." For years the town's sole claim to fame was that it's the headquarters of Anand, the billion-dollar brand of the Gujarat-based co-op that supplies milk and butter to Indian families and was for a long time the nation's chief purveyor of dhotis.

These days husbandry of a different sort

Dr. Patel's hospital waiting room in Anand. Here it's like any other medical clinic—the surrogate are all tucked away on the third floor.

These days husbandry of a different sort doesn't win here, and it takes place just a kilometer or so away from the Anand complex, to the minor-colonial-style building where Pandey gave birth. The woman who delivered the baby and presided over the hospital in an otherwise unremarkable way was Dr. Neelima Patel. Neelima Patel, as she's known in this region (her given name, a name of respect), vanished to Pune and into the reproductive tourism business nine years ago, after she had lost a mother-in-law's surgery arrangement. She was contacted by a U.K. lesbian couple on behalf of their son and daughter-in-law, Anand and Lata Nagla, who were desperate for a child. Infertility threatened to break up the marriage, and the parents begged Dr. Patel to do something. She did. The problem was with Lata's uterus—she didn't have one. But her eggs and ovaries were perfectly functional. So Dr. Patel removed some eggs, fertilized them in a petri dish with the husband's sperm, and transferred the resulting embryo into another woman's womb. Lata's was her's. In February 2004, a 4-year-old Vidya Vidya gave birth to her grandchildren, a twin boy and girl, to great medical hospitals, and some social outrage.

Within months, Dr. Patel had overseen her first commercial surrogate birth, and had inquiries for others. Grandmothers-in-lawing are not always a reliable option, and Dr. Patel began seeking out paid surrogates. She has since arranged more than 70 surrogates for singles from India and from as far away as Japan, Finland, Germany, the U.S. and Canada. She has created a painful if not easily describable career for dozens of impoverished women in neighboring villages and towns and across India. And she has helped launch a national boom in estimated at \$200 million around a process that rates a

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The surrogates see Dr. Patel as a hero.

'Madam is like a god. She thinks of the poor first, and only then of the rich.'

range of ethical questions: Is it moral to pay the world's poor to have our children? Have we opened the door to shady practitioners who are exploiting women? Does surrogacy, as critics suggest, turn the parent-child relationship into a matter of property rights?

In the three years since Vidhya Vidyalakshmi had her daughter's news, the number of IVF clinics in India has doubled. There are now an estimated 500 of these, 300 are thought to offer surrogacy (numbers are hard to track because clinics don't have to be accredited). Nonetheless, the phenomenon dubbed "surrogate moms" or "outsourcing pregnancy" is so controversial many of the women who risk money and health to help their families overseas do so in secret. For instance, Dr. Patel has a high rate of her own, a positive spin on the surrogacy. "It is the globalization of reproduction," she told a roundtable of Indian reporters at a February press conference to mark her latest haul of a Mexican American baby, born in Arizona to a surrogate from Kullu. She doesn't become an international medical superstar without some media savvy.

Outsourcing surrogacy perhaps marks the newest wave of offshoring, a model that goes far beyond the manufacturing wave kicked off in the 1980s or the service wave of the past decade, to trade in that most



BABY BOOM: This is a quickie photo from Dr. Patel at work—her newborn has spawned intense clinic enquiries in their surrogates' homes. In the court-paid post outside Kirti Hospital.

basic building block of the Indian market economy: baby. In Madras and Mumbai, the desperate poor sell their bodies for not much more than \$1,000. In India, China and Brazil, *World* magazine reported, the underprivileged volunteer by the thousands as guinea pigs for big Western pharmaceutical companies; the resulting firm Helixogen rejects the clinical trials because it's too late to stop. It's only bound to grow: a recent *Washington Post* article revealed that Asian eggs—Indian, Chinese and so on—are in very short supply in North America. Supplying north for pregnancy just means the next medical leap.

None of this, of course, was on Kirti Khanna's mind when she spotted a story about Dr. Prayansh Patel in an Indian magazine at the library. An Indian immigrant worked in a



senior Canadian city. Rami just wanted a baby (her name and developmental details have been changed at her request.) She had a hysterectomy a few years ago, a medical necessity that did not cause great emotional anguish at the time. She and her husband, Aron, already had a young son. They hadn't planned on having more children. Then the urge for another baby hit, and it was visceral. They considered adopting, but a few phone calls to domestic adoption agencies told them it wouldn't be easy. International adoption seemed both expensive and complicated. That's when they read about the work being done by Dr. Patel, not far from Mumbai, where their families still live.

The Khanna aren't the type to ditch. They moved to Canada almost on a whim 13 years ago after Aron, who works in finance, saw a Canadian government ad in a magazine, listing skilled professionals to immigrate. The article about Dr. Patel had a scintillating speedy effect: "Magazines play a role in our

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a legal woman, allowing the sector to emerge, new guidelines for assisted reproductive techs are now being a specially conceived committee. If approved, they will go on to Parliament and likely become law, making surrogacy officially legal. As for surrogates, there is a wide pool of candidates. And the cost savings are substantial. Where those getting surrogacy in the U.S. or Canada can spend upwards of \$100,000—the Korean American couple creases to \$100,000—surrogacy can be accomplished for \$5,000 to \$10,000. As Pooja Pandya says, laughing cheerfully, “I think it’s like a big win. Think of it as a 50 per cent discount.”

It can be more like 90 or 90 per cent. Dr. Patel’s list of surrogates are at the high end. Dr. Selvaraj’s surrogates are paid closer to \$2,500 plus expenses. Some clinics say it won’t be cheaper than Dr. Anand’s. Anand’s, a leading IVF specialist in Mumbai, has a clinic for anyone shopping this bargain-friendly market. Law in the home countries of intended parents should be considered, he warns. And the guidelines are not just about eggs; clinics won’t be accredited for at least another two years. For now, couples have little recourse should things go wrong. Dr. Ravindra Rao, who was on the committee that drafted the guidelines, has heard of such cases. One couple took their surrogate to court after the refusal to hand over the baby (The surrogate changed her mind) [There are advocates, he says, who advise foreign couples in women’s magazines and explain them. Under the new law, doctors won’t involve themselves in negotiations, agreement must be drawn up by a lawyer or with an agency—meaning more fees. The think-



Pooja Pandya at home with her family (left). Harish (above right), seen here with his son and husband, is now pregnant for a Canadian couple. Kishor’s employment

ing says Dr. Rao, is that women are unreliable to be voyaged by a lawyer than a clinician. Dr. Patel’s clinics have likely spared situations. Her success, though, doesn’t solely lie in the monetary advantage, or even in the high quality of medical care. It comes down to one fact: she finds the surrogate. Many clinics stay out of the recruitment business for legal and ethical reasons. Dr. Rao, who is president of the Indian Society of Assisted Reproduction, handles surrogate cases but insists that couples make their own deal with surrogates. Dr. Patel, on the other hand, also tries ethical reasons, does the recruiting. For agencies or clinics offering surrogacy services have her supply of willing women.

Dr. Patel follows a rule book of her own. She’s emphatic that surrogacy is for cases where the hapless mother cannot carry a baby to term—no lifestyle choice. She will not accept as a surrogate a woman who has already had two or three babies; she doesn’t think it’s safe. “If a patient wishes and does it, then nothing you can do is better there, her body. But here she is lying in for some one else. I cannot allow her to risk her life,”

she says. The refusal to deal with gay or lesbian couples, though she has had inquiries from all over the world. “I am not comfortable with it,” she says, gently. And her guiding of surrogates with clients is an inevitable process that single does a long distance call from Anand—if you’re lucky.

Not only does she recruit the surrogate, she checks her medical history, sexual health, blood count and type, and even the screen for genetic disorders. She handles the legal paperwork, monitors the surrogate during pregnancy, updates the client, delivers the baby, and makes sure of the paperwork. In the official baby industry, she is CEO, CFO, plant manager, HR consultant and more—all with her taking all credit for. She gets paid only for the embryo transfer and the delivery, the rest comes from a score of day to birth parties. “It’s a very, very emotional story,” says Dr. Patel. “You would be handled with real care.”

The approach is distinctly non-Western, and equally successful in her own country. She provides to reluctant husbands of the clients of their wives becoming surrogates

ments of their wives becoming surrogates. She helps the women who relocate to Anand for their pregnancies find apartments. She can rhyme off—and does, with a starting disgust for doctor-patient confidentiality—the personal circumstances of her clients who returned to surrogacy because her uterus “had shrunk to the size of a small bell,” which surgeon’s husband is a doctor who showed up drunk to a birth appointment and got a severe talking from her, who so said with her first insurance payment of \$5,000. “I regret. When an embryo transfer doesn’t work, she says, she doesn’t even feel like saying, “You cry for one patient, I tell them. I

with their surrogates, giving them cell phones so they can talk. Dishes, cut her kids and visited every month, bringing clothes and gifts. They encouraged her to move to India, but, promising to help her find work and make a new life. After the delivery they gave her an additional \$1,000 as a token of thanks, eventually doubling her for Kishor Kim, the Korean American, came to her in Toronto. Her surrogate gave birth. She stayed at the so-called house for two weeks, the two are happily done. The couple Pooja Pandya carried a baby for shared her hospital room with her for two weeks after the delivery, and still call and send presents in April.

Pandya still cries when she thinks of the baby. But she's preparing for her next surrogate pregnancy.

have every job in every position.”

But to the end, this is a business, and Dr. Patel is a woman who understands market forces. A comparison of the fees paid to the surrogates occupying the third floor quickly reveals there’s no standard rate. Some earn \$6,000, others \$10,000, a fortune for men a formerly middle class Delhi. Why the difference? It’s based on new technology, meaning age-old practices. Embryo transfer procedures are called “surrogates” or “surrogates.” A fine-tuned, advanced, middle-class Delhi man speaks English with fresh enthusiasm. “Don’t just sit in your circle.” A lower-class surrogate says, “It makes our people feel bad.” Why the difference, of course, is that it goes on as all. Whether or not Dr. Patel approves of such distinctions, she allows them. It’s what the market demands.

Her responsibilities don’t end with the delivery. She keeps meticulous financial records of not only who was paid and when they’ve done with it. She has set up bank accounts for surrogates, and helped them buy suitable plots of land. She will release funds only into fixed-term deposits or other such plans. “I don’t want them to waste the money on ordinary things,” she says.

Her clients are probably grateful. The surrogate, however, is the amazingly poor genetic disease doctor has seen. “Maden is like a girl,” says Dr. Patel. “The child of the poor lot, and only then of the rich.” When I first met her, I proposed to her, but she didn’t accept,” giggles the impressive Delhi. “She’s like Kishor Madan,” a glamorous Bollywood star from the ‘70s. And apparently Madan’s, too—the confirmed first surrogates deal of charge, as a general practitioner, long after their pregnancies are over.

More emotional approach has been called off at some point. They’re up to their necks

they returned to Anand with their son for his first birthday. But to the end, this is a business, and Dr. Patel is a woman who understands market forces. A comparison of the fees paid to the surrogates occupying the third floor quickly reveals there’s no standard rate. Some earn \$6,000, others \$10,000, a fortune for men a formerly middle class Delhi. Why the difference? It’s based on new technology, meaning age-old practices. Embryo transfer procedures are called “surrogates” or “surrogates.” A fine-tuned, advanced, middle-class Delhi man speaks English with fresh enthusiasm. “Don’t just sit in your circle.” A lower-class surrogate says, “It makes our people feel bad.” Why the difference, of course, is that it goes on as all. Whether or not Dr. Patel approves of such distinctions, she allows them. It’s what the market demands.

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and we are paying her for that.” Now, by the same token, did they worry about her going to court or education? Obviously not like many other Indian couples. They knew she was healthy, and that Dr. Patel would ensure she remained so during the pregnancy.

Even before they left Anand there were complications. After a cycle of hormones to stimulate egg production, Kishor and a gestating surrogate did showed up or so glow in the eggs. Two days later, though, when it was time to extract the eggs, there were none. Dr. Patel had warned the couple this might happen because of Kishor’s history. If they wanted to proceed they needed a freeze. She found one and collected several eggs. The embryos were fertilized in vitro. Kishor and Anand saw the miraculous kids in a photograph.

At the surrogate’s request, the embryos were transferred to her womb a week or so later, after shopping for a house. So the Kishor was back here in Canada when they got the call. The pregnancy was not negative. There were no more embryos, no frozen eggs or sperm, trying again would start starting over—which is, right now, a prospect the devastating to think about. “I can’t even expect my feelings,” says Kishor. “It’s heartbreaking. I want to cry just talking about it.” Somewhere in Anand there was probably a desperate, unpaid surrogate who was finding the same way.

At Kishor, the work goes on. Dr. Noyes had added more responsibilities to her already heavy load. By the end of the year she hopes to set up the first Surrogate Trust Fund, to provide financial support to her patients for surrogates to avoid legal and professional and insurance with her hands. She is now exploring life insurance agreements for surrogates. (China would pay the premiums.) (Like a strong core foreign couple for various IVF cycles—people who come because it’s cheaper here. And she continues to handle requests for advice and help from other IVF clinics in India. Some ask if she will send or request their own. “I say no, I don’t want any surrogate that way.” She is a doctor, that the women should never be treated as products, even though they represent an industry that’s worth millions of dollars. “If it does properly, this can be a boon for all of India,” she says. In a way, she’s right. ■



ICELAND: HAVE A WISH BUT NO CASH? NO PROBLEM. Thompson’s National Park is a traditional place for Icelanders to make wishes, and they’ve been doing so since a pagan festival known as Þorrbláttíð (‘‘memory festival’’) over 1,000 years ago. King Frederick VII issued a coin into the crown in 1892. But lately, coins who regularly make the feature by clearing out coins and rubies have been turning up credit cards, some of them still valid.

A picture of a man in a suit, a woman in a dress, and a child in a hat, all looking at the camera.

'I FELT IT WAS A FAIRLY SMALL THING, HITTING AND SWEARING AT THE WORKERS, AND NOT GIVING THEM WAGES'—CHINESE FOREMAN HENINGHAN, ARRESTED FOR KEEPING SLAVE LABOURERS

CHRIS MATTHEWS
A CANADIAN CRASSKIE
A CALIFORNIA PARTY

Remember your grunge and riotous days in the 1990s? Chris Matthews from California's Califorma, where he was recently appointed deputy political director of the California Republican Party (he stars in *Oz*), is 45, not his first among conservatives, starting with *Protein Manning*, who inspired him to enter politics, and then with conservative strategist **Tom Hagan**, who supervised Matthews' M.A. thesis at the University of Calgary. Matthews worked in **Stephen Harper's** personal assistant in 2006, and was head of fundraising at the Fraser Institute. Elected by California's recall vote of 2003, he volunteered for the GOP in the election that re-elected **Arnold Schwarzenegger** governor. He plans to go as far as using the GOP as a platform in California, which has been in Democratic hands for more than 10 years. Matthews says there is more opportunity in the U.S. for the kind of "direct democracy" practiced by his mentor Manning, but holds out hope for Canada, particularly now that his former boss is PM.

KRISTY SWANSON & MARCIA O'BRIEN
KUMBLE IN KINGSTON

Former world champion jigsaw solver **Maed Eiler's** messy divorce with his wife, **Marcia O'Brien**, got a whole lot messier last weekend. Eiler left O'Brien in 2005 when she was eight months pregnant—for most know as **Kristy Swanson** (best known for headlining the movie series of *Elly's the Manter Roper*). Eiler and Swanson turned up to O'Brien's Kingston home last week for reasons that aren't clear. Nor did either exactly what transpired next, but came Monday morning O'Brien was sporting a black-eyed police badge charged Swanson with assault. Swanson's Hollywood publicist called it was O'Brien who'd done the heavy lifting. He and Swanson's back was covered with scratches and bruises. Police stated Swanson on \$100 bond. Expected next two in July, when Swanson appears in court.

HENG TINGHAN
THE FOREMAN IN A BRICKYARD FROM HELL

When he was arrested last week and for allegedly running child pornography site, **Heng Tinghan** seemed almost blasé about his work. The *Singapore Free Press* quoted him saying "I felt it was a fairly small thing, hitting and swearing at the workers, and not giving them wages." Heng is accused of keeping 12 slaves in a brick kiln in the Shuang province town of Heng song. The operation was one of 3,700 Chinese brick kilns, many and workers treated by police. Authorities arrested at least 500 people from brick kilns last week, including young children and the mentally disabled. The case has increased the otherwise cool Chinese media, which openly condemned the scandal as an example of poor governance. At least one slave was beaten to death at the brickyard in which Heng worked in Singapore. It's reportedly incendiary because the property involved by the wife of a local Communist party chief.

CORNELLE
ANYTHING BUT AVERAGE

He is a musician in Paris and Montreal, but still singer **Cornelle**. "Cornelle" Nyongere isn't your average Quebecois. He's a Rwandan. Based in the capital of Kigali, he was 17 during the genocide that claimed the lives of 300,000 people. In April 1994, his father broke into his family home, killing his mother. His 10-year-old brother, a police officer, was shot. As was Cornelle's two brothers and sister. Cornelle survived by hiding behind a rock. He fled Rwanda by way of Zaire and Germany before settling in Montreal and becoming a Canadian citizen. Cornelle, in his 30s, is now in Quebec, has performed with **Charles Aznavour**, and, as he claims to a song on a previous album, he has dated with the president of France. His French language album sold 7 million copies worldwide, and only 2. Cornelle talks on the English-speaking world. He's releasing his first album in English, *The Devil of*. Cornelle is a Rwandan, but Cornelle is not French.

MIKE NIKONG
A 'TRAGIC RUSS' TO PROSECUTE

Life for **Mike Nikong**, the North Carolina prosecutor in the Duke University lacrosse rape case, is about to go from bad to a lot worse. Having already publicly resigned his \$81,000-a-year career as a prosecutor, he was last week named as a likely story on his own *Rosemary* Melville, assistant to Nova Scotia Liberal MP **Rodger Cuzner**, drove Carter (who is accused of a 1991 rape), where that flight was cancelled owing to fog. They headed to a ride from **Kelly Joe Mitchell** to a Sydney, Nova Scotia drive four hours to the Halifax airport. Carter had a split at a Tim Hortons along the way, cutting herself. Once in Ottawa, Carter enjoyed her first ever stay in a hotel. When the need to stay in a hotel right to meet **Kierkegaard**, MP **Don McEwen** doesn't want a night's accommodation. He'll wait in a car. For Carter, the trip wasn't just a political disaster, it was a dimly guided adventure. "I'm sure it was God that got me there," she says. Actually, it was an award from Carter's own *Am Mike* account.

JOYCE CARTER
HOW THE VETERAN'S WIDOW GOT TO OTTAWA

Not the case of a veteran's widow from St. Peter's, N.S., craft artist **Stephanie Carter** on her husband's 11th week was announced by the Liberals. But how Joy Carter got there is the story of the PM on a journey to a veteran's benefits promise is a likely story on his own *Rosemary* Melville, assistant to Nova Scotia Liberal MP **Rodger Cuzner**, drove Carter (who is accused of a 1991 rape), where that flight was cancelled owing to fog. They headed to a ride from **Kelly Joe Mitchell** to a Sydney, Nova Scotia drive four hours to the Halifax airport. Carter had a split at a Tim Hortons along the way, cutting herself. Once in Ottawa, Carter enjoyed her first ever stay in a hotel. When the need to stay in a hotel right to meet **Kierkegaard**, MP **Don McEwen** doesn't want a night's accommodation. He'll wait in a car. For Carter, the trip wasn't just a political disaster, it was a dimly guided adventure. "I'm sure it was God that got me there," she says. Actually, it was an award from Carter's own *Am Mike* account.

SALMAN RUSHDIE
AN HONOUR TO SOME, AN OUTRAGE TO OTHERS

Was it intended to be so heroic, but after **Salman Rushdie** was awarded the Nobel Prize for his book *The Satanic Verses*, some Muslim leaders were enraged. Rushdie lived in hiding for a decade after Iran's late Ayatollah Khomeini declared a fatwa in 1989 that called for his execution for committing blasphemy in writing *The Satanic Verses*. The Nobel Prize was a complete breath of fresh air. I thought you were absolutely fantastic. "The 16-year-old, who first sang opera at a karaoke night eight years ago, spent more than \$15,000 on lessons before abandoning his dream because of a lack of confidence. After a series of low-key jobs, a spell of fitness and mountain biking, Potts realized that opera was something "it was born to" and entered the canon. He is now a *Wu* (the name comes from the word, a translation of Potts was the \$121,000 competition, which includes a performance for **Queen Elizabeth** at **December's Royal Variety Performance**. After he pays off his debts, Potts will take his wife, **Jane**, on a holiday, perhaps a safari. And he's going to get his teeth fixed.

PAUL POTTS
HE'S GOT THE VOICE, JUST NOT THE TEETH

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THE BACK PAGES

film

Angelina Jolie: actress
10A

books

Women revive the West
10A

tv

Dancing for redemption
10A

fame

Why beauty leaves the beauty
10A

taste

The dark side of sushi
10A

bazaar

The universal cat: no
10A



Rock stars to the rescue

music

Roger Daltry is not an environmentalist. He is a rock star. A 64-year-old rock star, he has decided to devote himself to a cause whose cause is now most famous for opening each episode of a popular TV crime drama—that a rock star all the same. And because of this, he is generally encouraged to speak publicly about the major social issues of the day. And recently, for instance, about the threat of global warming, he mused, "My answer is to burn all the f—king oil as quick as possible and then the politicians will have to find a solution."

Again, to clarify, Roger Daltry's views are not generally endorsed by the wider environmental community. But he is, incidentally, a rock star of some vintage. And therefore, on the subject of next month's Live Earth—the multi-national concert spectacular featuring the likes of Madonna, Kelly Clarkson and Bon Jovi and organized by former U.S. vice president Al Gore with the aim of environmental sustainability—he is at least partially qualified to comment. "Relative to that [the fact that the planet is really a rock concert]," he said in the recent interview, "We have problems with global warming, but the question and the answers are so long [I don't know what a rock concert's ever going to do to help]."

Daltry is not a disbeliever in the healing power of rock music. He and the Who were at the first Live Aid and 2005's Live 8. They have performed at the Concert for New York City (9/11), the Freddie Mercury Tribute Concert (AIDS), the Itasca School of Music (handicapped children), and the Concert for Bangladesh (Cambodian victims of Pol Pot). Daltry is also closely involved with the Three Ages Cancer Trust concerts in England. And yet, when asked by the U.K.'s *Sun* to comment on the latest attempt to use a complete cancellation of concerts with pop-music, Daltry spent far too much time referring to his. Whatever could inspire such cynicism?

To be fair, Al Gore's Live Earth might not be the worst idea in recent history, but it is indisputably the least counterproductive. Pop music and politics have regularly mingled like 14-year-olds at a Grade 8 dance. But on July 7, the nation's media should reach out and bring

Al Gore's Live Earth concert has to be the most counterintuitive idea in music history
BY AARON WHERRY

songs to solve the world's problems would be measured. Dozens of similar efforts have followed, none of them apparently lessening Mr. Daltry.

The primary obstacle with the last 30 years of rock philosophy is fairly obvious—namely that, despite a multitude of concerts, nothing



LIVE AID, 1985, Philadelphia (top left); Live Earth press conference, Sydney, Daltry

proportions. Rock's "not celebration of personal responsibility for acting out least responsible behavior and organized by one of the great villains in rock history. All of it perhaps proving once again that, if you want to save the world, it's best not to drink too hard." "I hope they're a success," Bob Geldof recently told a Dutch newspaper. "But why is Gore actually organizing them? To make us aware of the greenhouse effect? Everybody's aware of that problem for years. We're all 6-foot-7-inch conscious of global warming... I would only organize this if I could go on stage and announce concrete environmental measures from the American presidential candidates. Congress or major corporations. They haven't got those guarantees. So it's just an enormous pop concert."

Geldof, rock's most diplomatic, presided over the residents benefit concert with Live Aid in 1985, a two-concert rock show that raised millions for the victims of famine in Ethiopia. Those shows, featuring the likes of Queen, John Lennon, U2 and Rick Springfield, set the standard by which all future attempts by singers of three-minute pop

almost every major concern imaginable, and millions upon millions raised to combat social problems, the world remains a messy place wrought with war, crime, disease, inequality and general depravity. This is not specifically the fault of, say, Dido (a performer at Live 8 in 2005). While Flag was a nice enough song, but it wasn't going to save the world. And even Geldof, seemingly sincere and dedicated, appears to have realized the limitations of his actions.

Live Earth, to its credit, is not seeking the salvation of the human species. It is merely aiming to raise awareness for the need for social salvation. This is an important distinction. As Gore recently told *Rolling Stone*, "The Live Earth concerts on July 7 represent the starting gun." In other words, he's not putting a gun to your head, he's merely flag it into the air in the hope you will start running.

Organizers are, likewise, working to set a good example. The main concerts will be an eco-friendly friendly as many publishers of carbon dioxide-spewing banners can be—employing as sustainable energy to power the LED lighting systems, encouraging recyclable concession packaging and so

LEFT: GELDOF; PHOTOS: PHILIPPE L. LEBLANC; RIGHT: LEBLANC

forth. A posse release on the Live Earth website also notes that staff at Live Earth band quarters are making sure to print on both sides of their recycled paper, turning off their computers at night and recycling.

The only fix is controversial for a moment, and—creating irony of selling a message of selflessness, simplicity and forward thinking through much more selfish means of western cars and short-sighted, life-shortening over-expans. “The United Nations has been passionate about the project for 16 years now. But to take this message from around requires mainstream, popular media,”

Billboard glossed the concert at Live Aid, London, 1985



One more hurdle of diabolism to overcome: the involvement of Al Gore, once infamous for demonizing rock

argued Burt Robb, a Live Earth spokesman. “Annoying that message, that will mean more stars, more stars, in television, [television, radio, etc.], at concerts. Al Gore was giving his slide show to thousands of people and that had a profound effect. Anybody, if they really want to, can make up in the morning, use any money-making, travel around and go to use of Al Gore’s slide shows, but we really don’t have time to visit for people to come to this refutation on their own. Live Earth is a real serious movement. Because it has to be.”

This is the argument for necessary evil, a rationale that has certainly been used to justify war. For that matter, if one believes in the spiritual power of consciousness, the involvement of otherwise well-known individuals might actually become an asset. If, for instance, your favorite pop star is willing to exclusively select only biodegradable toilet seat plungers or drug dealers drive their Pintos, who are you not to like to work every once in a while? This is the pop star as path

argument, one that has guided much of Boba’s recent career.

If you can get past all this, there’s only one more hurdle of diabolism to overcome: the involvement of a politician once infamous for demonizing rock. In all a degradation of society’s wealth and corruption of young people. How when Al Gore’s making our wall with Tiger in the 1990 Democratic National Convention was the second most subverted moment of his professional career.

Twenty years ago, just two months after Goldie signed Live Aid, Al Gore, then a U.S. senator, was helping stage the nationally televised hearings into the [literal] content of rock. “You may miss,” Tipper had

previously caught one of her otherwise well-behaved child from listening to Prince’s *Damned Nation* Quinlan at Nicks’s rather obscure use of a magazine. Tipper and several other concerned political wives formed the Parents Music Resource Center and began campaigning for music industry standards. In short order, the lead singer of Twisted Sister was on Capitol Hill debating the merits of female masturbation with a future vice president.

Gore went out of his way to bring his point out where a big first he was Frank Zappa (just to be quoted Bob Dylan to Jeffrey Squire to explain his current mission), but it was all rather embarrassing. Though also, apparently—despite the fact I typically assume about how Al Gore’s life might have impacted the beatings—soon forgotten. Live Earth will feature both the Black Eyed Peas (responsible for *My Name*), a popular ode to the female body’s lumps and Snoop Dogg (responsible for promoting the economic benefits of prostitution). In any situation we also appreciate the fact that one of the artists identified by the PMRC acting among the most obscure, Madonna, is to play Live Earth’s show in London, England, and has recorded a Live Earth track using “Helpfully titled *My Na*, the track includes the exclamation, “Open your eyes, it’s not someone, you’ve got to change this time.” This is also sort of an argument for necessary evil.

“Live Earth isn’t about saving water at home, whether famous or not, for what they’ve done in the past,” Robb says. “What we’re asking people is to do what’s making a change now.” In other words, ignore the past for the sake of the future. Somewhere a historian is shaking his chin in confusion, but that would seem to apply to everything about

Live Earth. And maybe this is hell, but, but then this is a movement that, as a basic premise, asks people to ignore their lesser moments. Don’t buy that 18,000 by 30.9. That that one day your great-grand-great-grandchildren might not be overcome by nihilism and/or drought. Resist! Search! for the greater good.

This is controversial because it is a guiding principle. And in that context it’s not hard to see how Live Earth might make sense. Of course, once you open your mind to consider environmentalism, lots of things start to seem reasonable. The next thing you know you’re taking direction from a would-be upstart rock star and embracing the world’s oil supply. But it seems like a completely insane idea. But it is really just more benign than the thought of Al Gore and Snoop Dogg coming together to promote corrupting and overboard energy sources?

BESTSELLERS

COMPILED BY DEAN DE LUCA

Fiction

- 1 **A THOMAS HUNTER BLINDING SUNS** 1 (1) by Michael Chabon
- 2 **THE CHILDREN OF HURN** 4 (1) by J.R.R. Tolkien
- 3 **THE QUIET** by Wilfer Bruford 3 (1)
- 4 **ON CRUEL BEACH** 6 (1) by Michael Crichton
- 5 **DEVELOPED** by Michael Crichton 2 (1)
- 6 **THE YODIN POLICEWOMAN’S RUMOR** by Michael Crichton 2 (1)
- 7 **UNWIT** by Chuck Johnson 1 (1)
- 8 **THE GOOD HUSBAND OF THE DEPT** by Alexander McCall Smith 1 (1)
- 9 **SHALL WE DANCE** by Mark A. C. Smith 1 (1)
- 10 **THE DEVELOPER** by Michael Crichton 1 (1)

Non-fiction

- 1 **GOOD IS NOT GREAT** 1 (1) by Christopher Hitchens
- 2 **THE SECRET** by Richard Byrne 2 (1)
- 3 **THE DIANA CHRONICLES** 1 (1) by The Broom
- 4 **LENDING MY GORE** by Michael Crichton 1 (1)
- 5 **THE BEAST THAT CHANGES ITSELF** by Michael Crichton 1 (1)
- 6 **THE ASSAULT ON BRADSHAW** by Al Gore 1 (1)
- 7 **TALES FROM A SCHOOL** by John Hedges 1 (1)
- 8 **ANIMAL, VEGETABLE, MIRACLE** by Michael Crichton 1 (1)
- 9 **THE CANON** by Michael Crichton 1 (1)
- 10 **JESUS OF NAZARETH** 1 (1)

LAST WEEK’S BESTSELLERS



CELEBRITY INTERRUPTED: Jolie unveils a frenetic mix of allegory in *Marriage of Convenience* in Michael Winterbottom’s *A Mighty Heart*

A triumph of acting over stardom

Despite some diva-like press antics, Angelina Jolie proves she’s the real deal onscreen

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON • When an actor portrays a real-life figure who’s never been the actor, but the battle is to pull off a convincing performance—whether Kiefer Sutherland as Ray Charles, Forest Whitaker as Idi Amin, Helen Mirren as the Queen, or Marion Cotillard as Edith Piaf. But when the actor is more iconic than the character, that presents quite a different challenge.

In *A Mighty Heart*, Angelina Jolie stars as French journalist Marie Perle, widow of Wall Street Journal correspondent Daniel Pearl, who was kidnapped and beheaded by Islamic terrorists in Pakistan in 2002. Marianne, who wrote the book on which the movie is based, is a highly talented. During her ordeal, she is surrounded by paparazzi. But Jolie was aware that her own celebrity—one of the most scrutinized celebrities on the planet—could eclipse her subject. “It was like, ‘I’m here,’” she told a small group of journalists selected to attend her first month after the Cannes premiere of *A Mighty Heart*. “For a film like this, it’s important to bring as much reality to it as possible, and not to be so much of yourself as possible.”

Not in Cannes, Jolie did succeed in deflecting the media spotlight away from herself and onto the film’s heroine. And her questions were out of bounds. But her work for her subject was out of control. When interviews were asked to sign releases promising that they would avoid personal questions, wrote nothing “disrupting,” and that their press would “only be used to promote the picture,” Jolie apologized, and they began to take the film, but the damage was done: you don’t get to be inside the press while promoting a film so much as Jolie.

It’s a shame, because the film is superb. Jolie portrays Marianne with such fearless

intelligence and heart that we forget we’re watching a movie, never mind a movie star.

A Mighty Heart is a real, ruggedly independent film. Even with the support of a Hollywood studio and the pedigree of a Hollywood star, there’s not a hint of Hollywood gloss. It comes from British director Michael Winterbottom, who has a knack for illustrating global politics with realism, without dramatic or documentary style in dangerous locations—films like *Welcome to Sarajevo*, *In This World and Not in This World*.

A Mighty Heart unfolds as a procedural drama, opening the five weeks between Pearl’s abduction and murder. Knowing the ending is where the movie should end, but it doesn’t. *Live United* is the film takes us inside an event we’ve only glimpsed from the outside, via the media. We go through it with Marianne, who’s six months pregnant, and a real-life mother of a child in the Karachi base where she’s staying—journalists, intelligence agents, the FBI, the woman and their usual child.

Winterbottom took the story in sequence with some improvisation. He builds tension with handheld photography, allowing us to see her more than a few seconds. Caring between the Jewish house in Israel and the woman who’s been in the Karachi streets, he creates a sense of conflict.



WE’RE STALKING... BRAD PITT

His wife is a good spouse. When Angelina recently turned 32, Pitt gave her a gift with a house full of flowers and a home-cooked meal. While they were at the recent Cannes festival he spent most of his time at night making their love life. It was a real time to buy Jolie a ring bearing the children’s initials. But he was not thinking about bigger jewelry and maybe a bigger child. He was thinking about how to live in 15 or 16 children.

world. The house is a hotel of phones, computers and jazzed dialogue. Outside is a sea of people, a living godhead of cars, buses and livestock. One moment Marianne is creating a religious on her pillow, test messaging “I love you, Danny” into the ether. Then cut to moment: loudspeakers sending prayers through the morning haze.

Like in *Marriage*, the movie relies on past judgment. A U.S. security agent, glowing at the prospect of Pakistani authorities turning a suspect, says, “I’d like a front-row seat when they hang him by his feet.” No one sees his seat. Marianne expresses rage and despair, but never vengeance. Appearing on CNN after Daniel’s murder, she notes that 16 hours were killed by the news on Pakistan that night: “Wherever there is misery,” she says, “there’s pain.”

The film also took redemption in real life. Marianne’s romance with Daniel (Dan Futterman), and in the birth of their son—her laborious journey to her husband’s death. Jolie finds her own independence in *A Mighty Heart*, grounding her celebrity as an Oscar-worthy performance. She was Marianne who chose her for the role. And as journalist and star side by side in Cannes, minor images of beauty and eloquence, the resemblance was uncanny. Now if only the star can learn not to stand in the way of a good story. ■



IN HIS ADAMANT novel, *The Chasteler*, the author has added to the canon of the West with a 'masterpiece novel,' writes Richter.

Women take on the wild wild West

In these fresh new novels, female characters don't have to play a brothel extra or a corpse

BY NOAH RICHLER • In *The Last Crossing*, Guy Vanderhaeghe's gripping, masterful novel of the Cypress Hills Massacre and the pre-Canadian West, there is a woman who rides with the Englishmen Addington and Charles Gault to search of their wayward brother Simon. Lucy Stovest, abandoned by her husband, is trying to find the men who raped and murdered her sister.

Wade's *Washoe* novel is part of a long and loquacious North American tradition, often in film and in the novel, of looking for ways to convince women at the break of night that the West is a warmer, less desolate, less gendered place. By and large, the taming of the West has been painted as a man's world, and the West has been made to suit their aims in the movement genre for a habitation after nature and for the blacks, who tend to be cast as the benevolent but ignorant, *de die cunctis* or generally benign lucky, the Mexicans who are usually bodies of the farther west, and the Jews who, past "Two-Gun" Coburn, tend to be quiescent if the Jewish manuscript carries through. A Jewish friend told me once, "I was in the West, and I was not allowed to say anything other than, 'I am not a Jew' to anybody, except to the Indians, and even then, a corpse back at the Indian school, as one fellow thing happened, out of all of them, I was beyond the home."

Women's transformation into gas, their dwelling as a fluid and as a *refuge* to a story otherwise too full of trauma was exploited (in all its canonicity [Elliot Silverstein's *Car Ballet*, with Jane Fonda and Lee Marvin, my own particular favorite]). Such women have usually undergone some kind of *unrue* event that turns them, out of vengeance or necessity, into windbreakers capable of outwitting

sexuality is elevated by their being the temporary equivalents of man. Or, true to the earlier mythology of the Oracles, they are Cassandra figures, a seething and witch-like, heralding the possibility of chaos. Another male fantasy, really—like the old belief that the presence of a woman in a man's world meant there'd be hell to pay (an idea you'll also find in many stories written by Alan MacLeod and Peter Clure).

Typically, these portraits were written by her son, though in this current publishing season something extraordinary has happened on the way to the second. Those notable up-and-coming Cornishan credits have offered up their own versions of the writing of the 19th- and early 20th-century West—and all of them have been excellent. The first was by a local, a young writer, who, in her first novel, *The Horseman's Ghost*, recounts the arrival of German and Russian pioneers into her hometown's Sandwich—seemingly after which she is very much identified with their decidedly printed collection, *A Hand Wielding 6 Other Stories*. The second is *Asa Works*, previously of *Windsor*, where she was a couple of writers' friends, and now moved to Cape. Her second novel, *Offspring*, is set in Mormon, polygamous Utah, in the year following the Mountain Meadows Massacre of 1857. The third is *Gold Adversity*, whose first novel, *The Saddest Country*, features a woman who is the daughter of the man she has never married, who makes her way through the Rockies and then to Frisco—the Alamo town burned in 1901 for a landslide.

There's synchronicity in this sudden rescaling of the West, in which some of the old cast-iron pillars, although the phenomenon has more to do with women having a go than the

[illegible]

York's mind, *2800*, an half a century or less past the practice of the sapient Marston church under rigorous scrutiny. "While, in Edler's novel, it is hard to attribute anything to journalism to the fact of the author being a woman (he congratulates the Sister Morton and Wayne Johnsons of this world for "writing women well"), in *York*, it is permissible to make this so much, in *York*, a bit of feminist purport is more palpable if only because Ernest Hemingway, the Marstonian stance has few issues, affecting *York*, the opportunity to point a casual woman for her times to resemble so many unfortunate misogynists knows.

In York's novel, as in Baker's, an almost intolerably oppressive air reigns. There are repeated scenes of unhappy evening meals and, as with Baker's *The Horseman's* Genoa, a succession of guests from infelicitous marriages or of criminals and sensory deynes. Hancock's fourth wife, a strangely attractive child bride,

brings to mind Baker's Elizabeth, and in the two novels a native presence provides a third way, almost a moral answer. York favors her characters' immersion in fastidious, distancing hobbies like taudery, silversmithing, for one wife in this second awful pioneer household, too. (The wife's name may be "thankful" for good reason.) The story of the Meadows massacre, in which Mormons died off to natives and slaughtered about 300 non-Mormons, is recounted in a series of dreams.

The Book of Mormon, in my mind, is possibly the most forceful and insinuating holy testament ever written. (It warns, for instance, that believers who stray off the path will see their skin turn black and their hair curly.) Mark Twain famously compared reading it to taking chloroform, though recent events

FOR ONE WIFE IN THIS AWFUL HOUSEHOLD THE DISTRACTING HOBBY IS SEX. HER NAME MAY BE 'THANKFUL' FOR GOOD REASON.

is the news from the United States—more notably the presidential candidacy of the Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney—implies one to take the religion seriously in this regard. Berk's novel is timely, though more than an extended critique of the faith, her concern appears to be the portrayal of women in the Mormon grip. Her West, like Baker's, appears to have been seeded exclusively by men who are inherently insensitive and ungenerous. Mobs and natives are the recipients in these novels.

The man who causes the initial upset in Gil Adami's *The Quaker* is insensitive and ingenuously so, but Mary Houston had the good sense to transfer him before the novel even starts, thereby dispensing the reader from having to spend any time with the *foetus*.

Adams' writing is superb. Previously a poet and short-story writer, the author took 10 years to write *The Outlander*, though more of it seems overwrought. The plot is easy, the

perennial and fall, though it is the few that Adamsen appears to be hunting that connect to such a robust world of more infections. In this already remarkable novel of the three, Macy's character—referred to simply as "the widow" for most of the book—is presented as the most incombustible 19th-century woman's dream on the very first page and the action doesn't let up on that theme. The widow is fitting, has two brothers-in-law, a pair of ginger-haired twins who, though never mentioning, are also to plague-narrate at Thompson and Thompson are to Herry's Timmer house. She is willing to save her brother, having lost her newborn child to the same sort of similar conditions that made the lives of most pioneer women in the New World as punishing, and the personalities of York's and Baker's novels as pure and disastrophous. Adamsen's

HOUSEHOLD MEMBER NAME
Loretta

them, sympathetic richdower, another "overlander"—a renegade from the new towns and their many rules—an Indian who exists at the condition of the beleaguered and hungry white women he finds in the woodland, as Frank, the Blackfoot man of the novel's denouement, a dwarf, an Indian bootlegger, and a mutant. Here's the dwarf again, except this particular fisher is a kind and crafty man with the old water-tasting habit of delivering answers to the town's citizens with his fins.

Adams understands the problem that Vanderhaeghe himself set in *The Last Crossing* when he discreetly suggested the Boy's Own

highest of his resistance men's escapades in the West. In this writer's western film adventure but also—the West having been almost overthrown—a certain danger of parody. So in *The Outlander*, some scenes have the ring and the familiarity of the cinema about them: a steaming suspension bridge the wolves must cross, a purgite with bullets prying off the rock. But these scenes are painted with an excitement and an affection for the genre that works on the reader as firm.

Adams isn't *The Outsider* is, in a degree, a "literary" success. Its language is fine, poetic, a real treat at times. And yet, as the other hand, there is the deft touch of an author who knows the tensions at play: The brothers can law cause a stir at each place they enter, and do the same with the reader, equally unsure whether in laughter or scorned by them. Adams can play off this tension brilliantly by the time the reader feels the author might be sending anything up, the engagement in the story is so great that we accompany him willingly.

The *Quintessence* is one of the best books that I have read in that, the new *Giller* year (The author is Michael Ondaatje's *Diviners*.) Already Adamson has a pedigree that even the most bigoted critic of Carleton would have a hard time complaining about: discovered by the publishing hero Percival's Quill, taught, joyful with language, conscious of Canada's history, and of woman's, yet sufficiently secure about it all that she can add to the canon of the *Wise* with a *manuscript* and even write great art, too.

If Venderbarghe's Charles Grant had met this particular woman, he'd never have sailed back to England. Over to you, Gary. ■

FINALLY, A BOOK ABOUT... CREATIONISM ON TRIAL

In 2025, 11 plaintiffs in Dover, Penn., took their school board to court after it required students to study intelligent design—“natural creation—decided up in a lab”—in a 4th-grade science class. *40 Days and 40 Nights* (HarperCollins) by Matthew Chapman, a great-grand grandson of Charles Darwin, is a dazzling account of the issues, personalities and repercussions of a key moment in America's ongoing war over the place of God in the nation's schools.



HER NEW HIMBO Jennifer Aniston and Ex model and boyfriend Paul Walker have been spotted dining together and at Fox Mallbu home

Aniston now linked to Everyman

The star's romance with a bricklayer reminds us: we all love a tale of beauty and the bloke

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ABOUT HIS REAL last name, Reichman, the Vancouver-based May jokes that, "Yeah, it's weird that my parents own half of Manhattan."

Good luck getting an appointment

Tattoo artist Adam Sky is booked six months in advance. He worked on one client for a year.

The ceremonial sword has been sold by a descendant of Napoleon's brother, Jerome, for \$6.8 million, three times the price expected for it. Auctioneer John Pierre Osenet made it so loud and silly when he said, "This sword carries the odour of the battlefield!" Bidders were attracted by its inspired provenance, including the head of Jupiter on the handle. Napoleon wore the scabbard of his victory at the battle of Marengo in 1800.

1994-2007 and 1992-2007

They were teenage sweethearts and polar opposites who met in the 1950s and did everything together

When people talk about Rob and Cheryl Hinton, they say the same three things: Rob was a *filicide*, a quiet man who pondered questions, especially from his three children, and sometimes didn't answer them for days. His obitry inside the middle ground made him especially valuable as a lead-use consultant balancing the interests of forests, mines, First Nations, ranchers, tourists and environmentalists in the Cariboo-Chilcotina area of B.C. where he and Cheryl lived.

Charly was a nice, lively local historian and music lover who, the teenagers, used to chat to much on the phone to Rob when they were dating, that she would have to stop to ask him if she was still there. They made a perfect couple. Says Charly's sister, Audrey Jones, "As much as you thought that Charly absolutely adored confidence, she would give you a really definite reply to something and then she would say, 'In that right, Rob?' They did an amazing relationship. They did everything together."

Cheryl Elaine Plonon was born on Elaine Julia, a homesteader, and Charles Errol Plon, a logger, on Jan. 10, 1944, in Victoria, while her father was serving in the Canadian army. Audrey, who is nearly five years older, says Cheryl was a beautiful little girl with big brown eyes and long golden hair. She was good-matched and very energetic, says Audrey. "Whenever she took on a task, she put her all into it." Cheryl and Audrey grew up in a logging camp on Little Cowichan south of Victoria Island. Their grandmothers lived in nearby Ladysmith, where the family eventually moved.

Robert Eric Hinson was born in Concord, on the east side of York County Island, on Dec. 26, 1942, to Maud Isabel, a homemaker, and John Eric Norman Hinson, an army veteran of the First World War and a logger whose job was known as half-buckling. Rob was the youngest of six children, including his brother Norman and his sister Gladys. Name, Jane and Isabella. As a kid, Norman remembers summers he and Rudy spent fishing as a 10-foot boat with a 10-hp outboard motor. "We grew up right on the waterfront," he says. "We lived on the boat." Their dad rarely took holidays, Norman says, but on one vacation with him, the two boys caught a salmon that weighed 96 lb. "We couldn't lift it," Norman says. "We had to get it in the car and roll it into the boat."

When Rob and Norman were in their mid-20s, the family moved to Salinas, in the Lodi/salinas area, where Rob met Cheryl at high

school. Ray was a good basketball player when Hugh was 10. He tried out for football, too, but he got hit really hard and decided that wasn't for him." Charyl was a basketball player and accomplished punter. After high school, both Ray and Charyl went to the University of Texas at Columbia, where he got a teaching certificate and he is ready for school. "Dad was pushed to go by my mom and by his father," Hugh says. "It was mom who kept him there." They were married in Lady'smith on Jan. 2, 1965, in an unceremonious ceremony that many of the guests couldn't make it. Charyl looked lovey. Audrey says, "But it wasn't a splashy wedding. Splashy wasn't in their lives. They were just grounded."



After university in 1968, Cheryl and Bob moved to Williams Lake in the Cariboo-Chilicote area where he worked for the lumber mills and she taught elementary school before raising their children. Hugh, now 38, Rose, 36, and Eric, 33. The family lived on a small farm in a house overlooking the lake, with the CBC on the radio and a succession of pickup trucks in the yard. "When we were young, our big outings were fishing and berry picking," Hugh says. "The whole family would jump in the truck cab with an full of night truck stops, mostly Whelan and White because we could all sing to them, and we would head off."

In the early '80s, Cheryl went to work for *Share Our Resources*, an umbrella group of various land-use proponents. But joined her there as a consultant after he retired in 2001. They still loved to go on rural-escape trips, and although they never had a cellphone, Hugh didn't worry. "It was not weird for them to be off-grid," Adams admits. "Cheryl's favorite words were: 'We went the byways and backways.'"

On Wednesday, May 13, Rob and Cheryl left home in their Ford F-250 crew cab on a 6th-hour drive north to Smedley for a cattleman's meeting. They asked Audrey, who resided in Williams Lake with her husband, Gary, to find the chadams and water the cows and the perennials. Hugh, who lives on his own farm nearby, looked after their dog Jesse, and their beef cows. On Monday, May 26, at 8 a.m., a firestorm took 20,000 cubic meters of crops, trees and debris across the remote Hazy 16 in Legate Creek, 15 km east of Terrace and not far from Smedley. Three days later, Hugh started to worry. On June 3, he called the RCMP. The next day, the Mounties and a highway crew in Terrace found Rob and Cheryl together in their truck, crushed under the debris.

BY BARBARA KIGHT

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